DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 247 456 CE 039 554

TITLE Youth Studies Bulletin. Vol. 3, No. 3.
INSTITUTION Australian National Univ., Canberra. National Clearinghouse for Youth Studies.
PUB DATE Aug 84
NOTE 138p.; For related documents, see ED 240 306-307, ED 244 079-080, and CE 039 552-553.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Serials (022) -- Viewpoints (120) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)
JOURNAL CIT Youth Studies Bulletin; v3 n3 Aug 1984

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Disadvantaged; *Educational Policy; Educational Research; Employment Statistics; Enrollment Rate; *Equal Education; Equal Opportunities (Jobs); Foreign Countries; Guidelines; *Job Training; *Postsecondary Education; Pregnancy; Research Reports; School Holding Power; Secondary Education; *Unemployment; Violence; Vocational Education; *Youth Employment; Youth Problems
IDENTIFIERS *Australia

ABSTRACT

This bulletin contains materials--announcements, papers, and studies--that are concerned with youth policy issues and that focus on education and training. The first section, entitled QUIDNUNC, offers brief descriptions of projects of interest, reports on inquiries and reviews, and announces recent appointments. The second section on aspects offers "Hooliganism May Be News--But It Is Not New" (Mike Presdee) and "South Australia. Community Improvement through Youth" (Lindsay Holmes), which describes a program targeted at unemployed 15- to 25-year-olds in Adelaide. A section entitled Policies, Provisions, and Participation contains three articles. "Of Renovation and Corporate Humanism" (Jim Williamson), "Educational Options for Teenage Mothers" (Jane Delin) and "Participation and Equity: Policies and Directions" (C. Blakers). In the fourth section, the Victoria Ministry of Education discussion paper on post-compulsory schooling is reviewed by Richard Campbell. The fifth section, on youth studies research, contains "The Youth Labour Market: Unemployment" (C. Blakers), a summary of research on the effects of rising levels of unemployment on teenage rates of unemployment; and "Neither Learning Nor Earning" (Moira Rowland), on difficulties inherent in reconciling statistics on educational participation and labor force participation and on derivation of adequate information on those unemployed and out of school. "The Use of Social Science Knowledge in the Formulation of Policy Advice" (Don Anderson) reports on a "mini-survey" on use of social science research by policymakers. (YLB)

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Vol. 3 No. 3
August 1984

ED247456

The Australian National University
RESEARCH SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
Department of Sociology

Youth Studies Bulletin

A quarterly publication of the NATIONAL CLEARINGHOUSE FOR YOUTH STUDIES

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CE 039 554

The National Clearinghouse for Youth Studies is concerned with Youth Policy issues, focusing on education and training. It is funded by the Commonwealth Department of Education and Youth Affairs under the Participation and Equity Program.

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YOUTH STUDIES BULLETIN

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ISSN - 0813 - 6203

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NO COMMENT

The word Economy, like a great many others, has, in its application, been very much abused. It is generally used as if it meant parsimony, stinginess, or niggardliness; and, at best, merely the refraining from expending money. Hence misers and close-fisted men disguise their propensity and conduct under the name of economy; whereas the most liberal disposition, a disposition precisely the contrary of that of a miser, is perfectly consistent with economy.

Economy means management, and nothing more; and it is generally applied to the affairs of a house and family, which affairs are an object of the greatest importance, whether as relating to individuals or to a nation. A nation is made powerful and to be honoured in the world, not so much by the number of its people as by the ability and character of that people; and the ability and character of a people depend, in a great measure, upon the economy of the several families, which, all taken together, make up the nation. There never yet was, and never will be, a nation permanently great, consisting, for the greater part, of wretched and miserable families.

William Cobbett, Cottage Economy, 1821

ABOUT THE CLEARINGHOUSE

A number of developments in the last twelve months or so have had a marked effect in widening the role and scope of the Clearinghouse. The Participation and Equity Program (PEP), with its far-reaching implications for schooling, for TAFE and for higher education, has meant that the Clearinghouse should try to cover as wide a range as possible of developments and change in schooling and in TAFE, as well as extending its interest in higher education to include such issues as access, participation, entry requirements, student attitudes/experiences and employment outcomes, particularly as these affect disadvantaged groups.

A second important development has been the addition of a Youth Affairs Division to what was the Commonwealth Department of Education (and is now, of course, Education and Youth Affairs). The change has brought a host of new responsibilities to the Department, ranging from basic issues such as youth policy and youth income support to particular programs such as worker co-operatives and alternative communities. With these issues and its overall co-ordinating responsibility for PEP, the Department now has a direct interest in every aspect of policy and practice affecting young people: schooling, further education, training, the youth labour market, the social and financial needs of young people. These considerably wider interests have been reflected in the last twelve months in work undertaken by the Department on youth policy and income support, resulting in publications such as Youth Policies, Programs and Issues (84/AB:82) and Income Support for Young People (84/AB:83).

The drawing together of the wide range of issues which affect young people is a recognition of their inter-relatedness: that one aspect has implications for another; that policies for one area need to take account of effects in another area. The acceptance of the need for a broader vision and for co-ordination in policy-making has become more and more widespread in the last few years and, to some extent, the Departmental changes are a response to needs which have been long felt, particularly by those working directly with young people. The frustrations of working in programs of narrow and compartmented focus have been made evident in much of the material and comment which has come to the Clearinghouse over the years.

The need and demand for the Clearinghouse to cover the widest possible range of issues affecting young people has also grown year by year, and particularly in the last twelve months. This accords with our own perceptions of the role of the Clearinghouse and with its original and basic aim: to collect and present the diverse research, information and comment which different disciplines, policy viewpoints and practical experience produce in relation to any of the range of issues affecting young people. Given the rapidity of change and the volume of written material being generated by wider perceptions of youth affairs, this aim of keeping abreast has been assuming something of the character of the will-o'-the-wisp which recedes further the more strenuously one tries to approach it.

As another effect of increasing interest in youth affairs, there has been constant growth in the numbers of people and institutions on the Clearinghouse mailing list. We are now printing 600 copies of our materials and sending out regularly over 530. More requests come in each

week and we expect to be up towards the 600 mark for regular distribution by the end of the year. A page showing the breakdown is enclosed in this Bulletin. Also enclosed is our annual questionnaire which **must be returned (as soon as possible) by anyone who wishes to receive our materials in 1985.** The Questionnaire includes on p.2 some questions which will provide us with information on the usefulness or otherwise of Clearinghouse materials. We will be grateful for frank, fearless and forthright comments to make our endeavours more fruitful.

Another matter of concern to the Clearinghouse has been the necessity to refuse requests for multiple or back copies of our materials, particularly where these were required for policy-making or policy advisory committees. We are accordingly investigating the extent of possible demand for multiple or back copies with a view to arranging extra printings and supplying requests at a charge which will cover the costs of printing, handling and postage. **To enable us to gauge the extent of interest in this extra service, we have enclosed an additional response form to be returned to us by anyone who might be interested in buying extra or back copies.** We ask that these forms also be returned as soon as possible so that we can decide whether or not there is a significant demand.

In this issue of the Bulletin, Mike Presdee puts the question of youth violence into perspective; Jane Delin discusses South Australian attempts to cater for the educational needs of teenage mothers, and Richard Campbell reviews the Victorian discussion paper on post-compulsory schooling, drawing on his own considerable experience and long-standing interest in this area of education. Moira Rowland's paper on statistical information highlights the gaps in our knowledge and understanding of teenage participation in education and work, and particularly of those teenagers who are neither 'Learning nor Earning'. The Review Paper, by Don Anderson, reports what he calls a 'mini-survey' on the use of social science research to and by policy-makers - a question which should be of direct interest to many Bulletin readers.

QUIDNUNC

PROJECTS OF INTEREST

. YOUTH IN TRANSITION: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

In February 1983, we reported in the Newsletter (p.5) that, as part of its program for 1983 (funded by the Department of Education and Youth Affairs) the Clearinghouse would prepare a new annotated bibliography of studies on youth issues. This second bibliography was intended to follow much the same format as the 1980 Annotated Bibliography (cited at the beginning of each issue of the Abstracts). With some particularly frenetic periods and frantic activity in the second half of 1983, we did indeed manage to complete the task and hand over the manuscript to the Department of Education and Youth Affairs before Christmas 1983.

We now have pleasure in reporting that our rather messy manuscript has been transformed into an elegant publication - thanks to the Australian Government Publishing Service (AGPS) and to the meticulous care with which Jane Harris, of the Publications Section of the Department of Education and Youth Affairs, proof-read and saw the manuscript through its various processes. We would also like to acknowledge with gratitude the generous help given by Brenda Nicholson (who risked tenosynovitis to get the general list on to the computer in a very brief time); Eveline Bancroft (who very patiently and accurately typed all the rest of the manuscript), and Lynn Lee (who wrestled with a very difficult index). Without their help we could not have completed the task.

Last, but certainly not least, we would like to thank all those who responded so quickly and generously to our requests for information on research, policies and programs. It is self-evident that without this response there would have been no possibility of a book at all. This bibliography, therefore, should be seen as representing the co-operative endeavours of a great many people. How many, apart from those mentioned specifically above, will be seen in the outline of the bibliography which follows.

. . . . . .

ANDERSON, D.S. and C. BLAKERS

> Youth in Transition: An Annotated Bibliography. Prepared for the Department of Education and Youth Affairs. Canberra: AGPS, 1984 [351p.: $16.90]

The purposes of Youth in Transition is to provide researchers, policy advisers, planners and others who have an interest in young people with a comprehensive listing of studies on Australian youth and their position in education, the labour market and society. There are 1,000 names in the general list of authors and annotations are provided for 222 of the studies. An introductory chapter reviews the research and asks how the results can contribute to the formulation of official policies.

Studies for inclusion in Youth in Transition were obtained by reference to the usual bibliographical sources: from responses to letters

sent to social science, education and other departments in universities and colleges of advanced education, to government and non-government agencies; from responses to announcements in social science journals and from material submitted to the National Clearinghouse on Transition from School (now renamed the National Clearinghouse for Youth Studies). Many of the annotations in this bibliography have already appeared in the Abstracts of the Clearinghouse and others will do so in the future.

The criteria for determining whether a study was to be included in the bibliography were these:

- The study should have been published and/or available to the general reader either on request or through normal publication channels; or be work in progress which will become accessible on completion
- The scope of the study had to be of general interest and relevance; for example, studies were not included which had implications only for a particular school or small subsection of the population
- The study should focus on young people at school and after school: on their hopes, experiences and problems; on the policies and provisions for them; and on social factors affecting them and their future. Thus studies which had only marginal implications for young people, such as the administration of higher education, have not been included.

Work completed or in progress during the six years before 1979 was covered in a companion bibliography: Anderson, D.S. and C. Blakers, Transition from School. An Annotated Bibliography of Recent Australian Studies. Canberra: ANU Press, 1980 [288pp.]. No completed studies from that bibliography are listed in Youth in Transition but work which was then in progress has been updated and reported.

The bibliography includes only Australian material, though a few overseas studies of special interest have been included in the general list. It is in three main sections:

- general author list
- annotations
- subject index

The general list is arranged alphabetically and numbered in sequence. Annotations of completed studies are marked * and the appropriate category number; studies in progress are also marked #.

The annotations are arranged in ten categories:

Section A: The social context
Section B: Technology and work
Section C: Labour markets and young people
Section D: Unemployment
Section E: Education and employment
Section F: Schools
Section G: School students and school leavers
Section H: Post-secondary education
Section I: Social problems
Section J. Policies[2]

The subject index is arranged by subjects and is intended as a broad guide to the subject matter of the annotations.

* * * * * *

. THE ERIC CLEARINGHOUSE ON ADULT, CAREER AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

For the last two years, our materials have been sent to this international Clearinghouse which is based at Ohio State University in the U.S. We were gratified to receive a card from ERIC telling us that our document had been chosen for announcement in the May 1984 issue of Resources in Education. The 'document' in question was the Newsletter and Abstracts of November 1983 (Vol.2, No.4) and a photocopy of the relevant entry accompanied the card. We were intrigued - and a little disconcerted - to note that our identified focus was the United Kingdom. The entries for both the Newsletter and the Abstracts indicate the kind of material each contains and covers and, in each case, adds 'especially in the United Kingdom'. We feel a little like the old lady in the nursery rhyme, who, confronted by blank non-recognition among her intimates, exclaimed: Lawks-a-mussy, Who am I?

Our self-confidence however has been restored by receiving a second card reporting: Your docment has been chosen for announcement in the July 1984 issue of Resources in Educatior. This time, Youth Studies Abstracts and Youth Studies Bulletin (Vol.3, No.1) have been chosen and we have been reinstated in the Antipodes.

* * * * * *

. SPECIAL YOUTH EMPLOYMENT TRAINING PROGRAM (SYETP)

On 27 July 1984, the Federal Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations, Mr Willis, announced changes in the subsidies available under SYETP - a move partly in response to the interim report of the Kirby Committee of Inquiry into Labour Market Programs (84/C:49). The changes included:

- restructuring of the subsidies available under SYETP to a standard percentage of about 40 per cent of the average weekly earnings of the age groups concerned. The current flat-rate subsidies are strongly biased in favour of the 15-17 year age groups, and the new subsidy rates will ensure a better balance in the assistance provided to teenagers and young adults
- a requirement that the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) give priority to the longer-term unemployed when referring eligible job-seekers to vacancies subsidised under SYETP
- a provision that job-seekers will not be subsidised under standard SYETP if they have worked in the same type of job previously, unless substantial new skills are to be learned
- provisions which will enable the CES to refuse further subsidies to employers who abuse the programs by using them as an ongoing source of subsidised labour. Specifically, employers will be required to retain one in every three subsidised workers for at least two months beyond the period of subsidy.

The specific changes are as follows:

EXISTING AND NEW SUBSIDY RATES[3] UNDER THE SPECIAL YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM (SYETP)

Age	Standard SYETP[1] ($ p.w.)		Extended SYETP[2] ($ p.w.)	
	Existing	New	Existing	New
15-17	75	50	Not applicable	Not applicable
18-19	75	75	100 and 75	75 and 50
20-24	75	100	100 and 75	100 and 75

Notes:
1. **Standard SYETP:** the wage subsidy is available for up to 17 weeks for those who are registered with the CES and who have been unemployed and away from full time education for at least four of the last 12 months,
2. **Extended SYETP:** the higher level of wage subsidy is available for 17 weeks then the lower level for a further 17 weeks for those who are registered with the CES and have been unemployed and away from full-time education for at least eight of the last 12 months.
3. The new rates, amounting to about 40 per cent of average earnings for three broad age ranges are based on statistics provided by the Australian Bureau of Statistics.

Readers might like to refer to Abstracts of papers analysing the effects of SYETP to see how these changes fit in with comment. The relevant Abstract numbers are: B117, 83/AB: 17, 63, 73; 83/C: 32, 50, 69, 71, 72; 84/Ab: 82, 189; 84/C: 1, 3, 4, 49-52.

* * * * * *

. COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM (CEP)

The guidelines for this program have been revised to make it easier for local government and community organisations to sponsor projects. For these groups, the minimum contribution (to apply from 1 July 1984) has been reduced from 30 per cent of project costs to 20 per cent. Sponsors will be required to ensure that 65 per cent of the Commonwealth grant received is spent on direct wage costs.

. See also Ministerial Statement on the Community Employment Program in the House of Representatives Hansard, 6 June 1984, p.3000-3008.

* * * * * *

. THE VOLUNTEER YOUTH PROGRAM OF S.A.

The Volunteer Youth Program (VYP), funded by the Commonwealth Department of Employment and Industrial Relations, has operated since January 1980. Its main purpose is to act as a referral agency for unemployed people between 15 and 25 by facilitating their placement into voluntary work in non-profit and community service organisations.

The high rate of unemployment, its social consequences and devastating effect on the individual, present a set of needs that must be met. For young unemployed people who desire to do voluntary work in the community, it is often difficult to find an appropriate organisation and make the initial contact. The Program serves to alleviate some of the stigma and social effects of unemployment by providing them with a meaningful work experience and social contact.

The objectives of the program are to assist unemployed young people to maintain and develop their capacity to obtain and retain employment and to promote their integration into the community. These are achieved by:

- identifying relevant community service opportunities
- regular placement of individual participants into voluntary community service activities
- monitoring individual participant's progress
- providing appropriate advice and information to participants within the limits of the project officer's competence to do so
- referring participants to other agencies when appropriate
- promotion of project activities to the community.

The VYP participants must not be placed in work which would normally be performed by a paid employee nor are they to displace existing volunteers.

Participants are not given an allowance and their involvement is voluntary, however they are entitled to travel reimbursement of up to $6.00 per week for actual transport costs incurred travelling to and from their placement. All participants registered with the program are covered by Personal Accident and Public Liability Insurance while doing voluntary work.

A non-profit or community service organisation expressing a need for or interest in having a volunteer is asked to give details of their organisation including:

- the tasks available
- the skills and qualifications necessary to perform the tasks
- the organisation's expectations of the volunteer
- the number of hours or days a volunteer would be required each week.

As far as possible, participants are placed in a field of their interest and in their own area to minimise their travelling time. Therefore, a placement organisation is contacted when we have a suitable volunteer from that locality (except in a case when a charitable organisation has contacted us and said that they need a volunteer urgently).

The staff at the program monitor and evaluate the progress of each participant and keep a record of the hours of voluntary work undertaken.

Further information may be obtained from:

Shop 2, Henley Square
Seaview Road
Henley Beach, S.A. 5022 Telephone: 356 0600

* * * * * *

. ABORIGINAL UNEMPLOYMENT

The Senate Hansard of 4 June 1984 (p.2476) provides the following answer to a question on notice, asking what is the present rate of unemployment among Aborigines:

> The Australian Bureau of Statistics is unable to provide information on current rates of Aboriginal unemployment because the size of the samples used in its monthly labour force surveys prevents disaggregation of statistically valid data on the Aboriginal labour force. However, calculations based on 1981 Census data and the most recent Commonwealth Employment Service statistics on numbers of Aboriginals registered and awaiting placement in employment, indicate a current Aboriginal unemployment rate of around 50 per cent.

* * * * * *

. PERMANENT PART-TIME WORK FOR TEACHERS

The three Victorian Teachers' Unions (now federated as one union) and the Government have reached agreement on the introduction of permanent part-time employment, following two years of negotiations on principles and provisions. An outline of the agreement and its provisions is contained in VSTA News (weekly newspaper of the Victorian Secondary Teachers Association), Vol.5, No.15, July 1984 and No.18, 30 July 1984.

* * * * * *

> For me the yeast of education is the idea of excellence, and that comprises as many forms as there are individuals to develop a personal image of excellence. The school must have as one of its principal functions the nurturing of images of excellence.
>
> (Jerome Brenner, On Knowing, 1966)

INQUIRIES AND REVIEWS

. INQUIRY INTO LABOUR MARKET PROGRAMS (Chairman: Mr Peter Kirby)

Information on this important inquiry has been given in two previous issues of the Bulletin this year (February and May). Since then, the Committee has produced an Interim Report focusing (as requested by Government) on the Special Youth Employment Training Program (SYETP), the Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS) and measures to enhance the support provided for apprenticeship training (see Abstract 84/C:49). Some of the recommendations in the Interim Report have already resulted in government changes to programs; for example, the changes to SYETP described in these pages.

Australia-wide consultations have been undertaken by the Committee since May of this year to ensure that all interested groups and individuals have an opportunity of raising issues and putting views to the Committee. Among the issues and questions which have been raised in the course of these discussions, the following have emerged as generating wide concern:

i) Industry Training: under this heading come issues of
   - apprenticeship - its relevance, its throttling effects on wider training, the appropriateness of its wage system
   - possibilities for structured training outside apprenticeship modes
   - training for skills in areas such as finance, banking, insurance where there has been little formalised training in the past

ii) The adequacy of support for training, re-training and recurrent education, including ways of meeting needs for skills likely to be in demand

iii) Community Support Programs, such as CYSS: their role and their relationships with other welfare and education institutions

iv) The re-training needs of mature age women

v) Income support, including questions of scope, levels, disincentive effects and anomalies

vi) Provisions for disadvantaged groups; in particular, whether these should be explicitly targeted in programs

vii) Government interventions in labour supply or labour demand: questions of government policies and programs directed to one side or the other of the labour market inevitably raise issues and tensions which have their roots in differing economic and social concepts and aims

viii) The administration of labour market programs and the delivery of government services raise a number of issues, among which are
   - the different and complementary roles of Commonwealth, State and local government and of community groups
   - the existing profusion of bodies and organisations which have been established to offer advice to government; there are about 200 in Australia alone
   - the general absence of interest (in some cases even reluctance) among local government bodies to accept a role in these areas
   - the lack of co-ordination and effective consultation among responsible departments such as, at the Commonwealth level, Education and Youth Affairs, Employment and Industrial Relations and Social Security

ix) Priorities: How are these to be set among competing demands of education/training and other needs such as unemployment benefits.

The Committee is continuing its investigations and expects to report at the end of this year.

. SCHOOLS COMMISSION REVIEW OF COMMONWEALTH EDUCATION CENTRES

A Panel of Review, headed by Dr Laurie Shears, the retiring Co-ordinator General of Education in Victoria, has been appointed by the Schools Commission to examine Commonwealth-supported Education Centres throughout Australia. There are 32 such Centres funded as part of the Schools Commission's Professional Development Program. The Centres are managed by local committees, mostly made up of teachers, and are used for activities which help teachers develop their professional skills and involve parents and the wider community with the work of schools.

The Panel of Review will examine:

- The extent and contribution of Education Centre sponsored or supported activities to the professional development of government and non-government school communities in their regions
- The functions, management, administration and funding of the Centres
- The degree to which the Education Centre element meets the aims, objectives and priorities of the Commission's Professional Development Program as a whole
- The capacity of Education Centres to respond to new initiatives and demands for professional development.

Further information may be obtained from:

The Executive Officer
Review into Commonwealth Supported Education Centres
Commonwealth Schools Commission
P.O. Box 34
Woden, A.C.T. 2606 Tel. [062] 86 6084

* * * * * *

. QUALITY OF EDUCATION REVIEW

The Government, as part of its recent Guidelines to the Schools Commission (see summary in this issue of the Bulletin) announced the establishment of a Committee to review the effectiveness of the existing Commonwealth involvement in primary and secondary education, with a view to obtaining improved outcomes. Among the criteria identified as the basis for judgement of outcomes are:

- the attainment of a satisfactory standard by the great majority of students at successive stages of a general curriculum, with particular reference to communications, literacy and numeracy
- an improved relationship between secondary education and employment and tertiary education opportunities and requirements
- improvement in these outcomes of education by funding at a level consistent with other priority claims on the Commonwealth, including those of the TAFE and higher education sectors.

The Committee will be chaired by Professor Peter Karmel, Vice-Chancellor, Australian National University, and include Mr Hugh Hudson, Chairman, Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission; Mr Peter Kirby, Chairman, Victorian TAFE Board; Professor Barry McGaw, Professor of Education, Murdoch University and Ms Helen Williams, Deputy Secretary, Department of Education and Youth Affairs.

It is expected that the Committee's report will include advice on specific issues relevant to the criteria above, including:

- for primary schools, the priority of attaining higher basic skills standards for the generality of students
- for secondary schools, the need to ensure that strongly rising participation in years 11 and 12 is associated with the attainment of appropriate standards relevant to subsequent employment opportunities and improved preparation for tertiary education
- in each of the school systems, the need to encourage a greater proportion of girls to pursue subjects leading towards better employment prospects or greater opportunities for tertiary education
- means of improving awareness of the importance of the educational process in an increasingly competitive, including internationally competitive, environment
- in relation to specific purpose programs, a review of which student groups are in greatest need of specific forms of assistance.

The Committee will consult relevant education and labour market authorities and is expected to report by April 1985.

* * * * * *

RECENT APPOINTMENTS

. COMMONWEALTH TERTIARY EDUCATION COMMISSION, ADVANCED EDUCATION COUNCIL

Dr Gregory Ramsey has been appointed Chairman of the Council. Dr Ramsey has been in charge of a number of South Australian Colleges of Advanced Education since 1972, most recently as Principal of the South Australian College of Advanced Education.

* * * * * *

. CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT CENTRE (CDC)

The Council of the CDC has now been reconstituted as follows:

Ms Lyndsay Connors, a full-time member of the Commonwealth Schools Commission, has been appointed to chair the Council

Dr Peter Tannock, Chairman of the Commonwealth Schools Commission (CSC)

Mr Paul Hughes, Chairman of the National Aboriginal Education Committee and part-time member of the CSC.

Mr J.V. Faulkner, Catholic Education Office of Victoria and part-time member of the CSC

Mr P.S. Gebhardt, Principal, Geelong College, Victoria

Mr W. Harman, a former teacher and publications editor for the Victorian Secondary Teachers Association and the Technical Teachers Union, Victoria

Professor C.E. Praeger, Professor of Mathematics at the Univesity of Western Australia

Ms K.E. Schofield, Head of the Women's Co-ordination Unit, NSW Department of Technical and Further Education

Ms Leonie Trumper, Principal of the Elizabeth West Primary School in South Australia

Mr G.F. Berkeley, Director-General of Education, Queensland

Dr F.G. Sharpe, Assistant Director-General, NSW Department of Education

Dr J.R. Steinle, Director-General of Education in South Australia

Dr R.L. Vicary, Director-General of Education in Western Australia

Mr R. St.C Johnson, Secretary, Department of Education and YOuth Affairs.

Mr Garth Boomer, Director of Wattle Park Teachers Centre in South Australia, has been appointed as the new Director of the Curriculum Centre.

* * * * * *

In their education, therefore, the care must be the greater had of their beginnings, to know, examine, and weigh their natures; which, though they be proner in some children to some disciplines, yet they naturally prompt to taste all by degrees, and with change. For change is a kind of refreshing in studies, and infuseth knowledge by way of recreation. Thence the school itself is called a play or game, and all letters are so best taught to scholars. They should not be affrighted or deterred in their entry, but drawn on with exercise and emulation. A youth should not be made to hate study before he know the causes to love it, or taste the bitterness before the sweet: but called on and allured, entreated and praised; yea, when he deserves it not.

(Ben Jonson: Discoveries - 1641)

ASPECTS

HOOLIGANISM MAY BE NEWS - BUT IT IS NOT NEW (Pearson 1983)

*by Mike Presdee**

In January this year a large number of Adelaide youths ended a free Sunday rock concert with a violent confrontation with the police in what was later termed the 'Glenelg riots'. The news media reported it in spectacular style and the public responded with shock and horror resulting in a growing concern and fear in the beach suburbs that youth had reached new depths of degradation and violence. The law and order debate arose again. How were youth workers, policy makers, academics and law and order agencies to understand this behaviour?

Unfortunately we have created a view of youth lawlessness that is based on the myth that our present problems are a result of continuing moral and cultural decline and a definite break with the past. A more studied historial approach shows clearly that we do not live in a markedly **more violent** society than that of say the 19th century, as the following facts indicate:

- In Medieval and Early Modern England levels of violence were dramatically higher than today. For example, in Oxford in 1340 there were 110 murders per 100,000 - whilst at present the rate is about 1.9 per 100,000.
- The general rate for murder during the 20th century is one-sixteenth of the level in the convict period; one-thirteenth of the gold rush level; one-quarter of the 1870s; and one-half of the 1890s.

Or let us compare the figures with those occurring in the workplace:

- In 1981 115 homicides in NSW compared with 176 deaths occurring during employment
- In 1980, 1,388 serious assaults reported to NSW police, compared with 129,419 injuries in the NSW workplace. Of these injuries there were 10,000 fractures, 20,000 lacerations, 400 amputations (Grabowsky, 1983).

This then is real violence, for we have an industrial environment that breaks, maims and kills to which we quite happily condemn young people fresh from an education system that preaches high technology and technical sophistication. It is obvious that the question of **public order** is construed as of more importance than occupational health (Grabowsky 1983).

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What then has been the history of youth lawlessness in South Australia? Have things declined, leaving us gazing back to the tranquility of the past? Were the Glenelg riots worse than the 'gang' or 'push' organisations of Australia in the 1890s; or worse than the 'street' violence in Adelaide at the turn of the century?

I would like at this point to report a little known meeting between the Premier of this State and a concerned group of people, who met to discuss the problem of youth, dances and alcohol in Glenelg and other suburbs. One of the people involved suggested that 'immorality is on the increase and it is necessary to deal strenuously with the matter', and another of the party suggested that this sort of youth activity was actually a menance to 'National life'. But all agreed, and I quote from the report of the meeting, that the dances were 'in close proximity to hotels and that considerable traffic in drink was carried between the places'. And it was left to the Mayor of Adelaide, present at the meeting, to sum up by saying that 'the secret of the whole thing was the lack of parental control'. Many of these statements were again reiterated in the press after the Glenelg riots.

We should also consider the S.A. Police Commissioner's report that mentions the increase in juvenile crime being due to the neglect of parents, and the absence of power on the part of the police to clear the streets of young children at night. Something which they are campaigning for again: that is, an increase in police powers. In this same report it was noted that hooliganism was on the increase in the city and suburbs and that this was a source of annoyance to small shopkeepers and frequenters of markets.

All these comments were repeated in January this year by the South Australian media, and yet the meeting with the Premier that I report took place in **late November 1905**, and the Police Commissioner's report was **that of 1897.** Commonsense tells us that we have not continued to slide downwards throughout history - and statistics tell us that things have actually improved.

However to illustrate how short our memories are, consider the comments of one police officer at Glenelg who, in the press, reminisced about the riots of the Vietnamese moratorium and said 'They were gentlemen in those days: they were peaceful gentlemen compared to this lot'. Yet The Age headlines in April 1972 bellowed out: 'Moratorium Rebels attack Police with bottles and rocks'. For 'Moratorium Rebels' one could now substitute 'Adelaide Youth'. I would like to recall one more example. In the 1930s, the intellectuals of the time thought youth were sliding downwards, owing in part to both cars and Americanisation. Cars were blamed for affecting religion and breaking up the family; and we were all, as F.R. Leavis suggested, 'Americanised' (Pearson, 1983). Yet only a month or so ago one Adelaide reporter suggested in the press that the Glenelg riots had imported 'American Larrikins'.

How then can we make sense of all this? We can begin by seeing that youth have little or no stake in our society. This absence of an involvement, a stake, suggests that youth are loosely bonded to conventional morality. The benefits of adult citizenship are for some quite considerable: paid employment, home ownership, adult personal relationships and the right to participate in the political process. Yet many young people **have none** of these benefits and therefore we cannot expect

them to conform in the same way as adults do to the demands of society. And further, when the society responds by more **oppressive measures** we find that prosecution, incarceration, welfare and punishment techniques all suffer from the same deficiencies. They do not make justice intelligible and they mystify the whole process. There appears to young people little connection between their offence and the system of sanctions.

Alcohol has received a fair amount of attention and is referred to as a 'root' cause of violence. But I would suggest that the actual function of alcohol is to lubricate altercations, often facilitating their escalation into an attack. With the lowering of inhibitions there is a release of impulses that **already exist which might otherwise be contained.**

What then can we conclude from this brief analysis? Firstly, that the level of violence today is, in reality, extremely low, and whereas we normally think of disturbances and riots as a break with tradition, they are more usefully understood as tradition itself. When the cobwebs of historical myth are cleared away, we can begin to see that the real and enduring problem that faces us is not moral decay, or declining parental responsibility, or undutiful working mothers, or the unparalleled debasement of popular amusements, or for that matter any other symptom of spiritual degeneration. Rather, it is a material problem (Pearson, 1983). For we know that societies characterised by a high degree of economic inequality have high rates of violence. And no amount of bringing together will paper over the cracks (Pearson, 1983).

At the present time with our so-called new nationalism coupled with international victories under sail, at the tennis courts, on the track, on the oval, and a new political accord heralding us to a new consensus and togetherness - youth responds by hurling bottles and rocks at police and innocent bystanders. Yet there can be no accord, no consensus, whilst there is inequality!

Law and order and the policing of youth must necessarily become a central concern of youth studies in the eighties when we might expect a heightening of youth resistance to problems in education, a collapsed youth labour market, and the horrors of an ageing and violent industrial environment.

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SOUTH AUSTRALIA. COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT THROUGH YOUTH (C.I.T.Y)

Department of Industrial Affairs and Employment

*by Lindsay Holmes**

[As an introduction to the following article, information about CITY, published in the Clearinghouse Newsletter, June 1982, is reproduced here.

CITY was established in October 1977

- to encourage young unemployed people in community improvement activities
- to provide opportunities for young unemployed people to feel worthwhile and gain some personal satisfaction
- to provide opportunities for young unemployed people to improve or maintain work habits and skills and acquire a record of work experience
- to demonstrate that young unemployed people can make a constructive contribution to the functioning of a community, so that communities may function more effectively if young unemployed people are given the opportunity to feel worthwhile and involved, irrespective of their educational standard and employment status.

These aims signified a change in Government policy not only away from supporting, motivating and training young unemployed people to search for existing, traditional job vacancies, but towards also assisting young people to cope with long periods of unemployment by providing opportunities to use their time constructively and to develop alternative employment goals and skills.]

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Community Improvement Through Youth (C.I.T.Y.) is a program targeted at unemployed 15-25 year olds in the metropolitan area of Adelaide. CITY as an organisation recognises that long-term unemployment can have negative effects on the wellbeing of the individual young person. The large majority of young people we service show some negative effects in their personality, mental and physical health and material wellbeing. A small minority do not. A few show them all. The signs which are seen by CITY workers are:

- Lethargy and expressed feelings of powerlessness and of worthlessness
- Anger at society and authorities
- Inability to fully participate in groups
- Evidence of disrupted family or living relations
- Inability to keep to time-tables or agreed meeting times
- Initial reticence to accept responsibility

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* *This article is a co-operative effort by the staff of CITY*

- A loss of perception of 'cause and consequence'
- Very narrow involvement in hobbies, interest groups or sporting groups
- Little concept of their part in the future or unreal expectations of the future
- Poor physical appearance, particularly in regard to dental hygiene and general health.

Through its various programs, CITY tries to prevent these effects arising and to ameliorate them where they exist.

CITY has three main programs: Community Projects, for which CITY, as a branch of the S.A. Department of Labour receives funding through the State Government; the CITY High Schools Program and the City Services Clubs Involvement with Youth Program, both of which use funding on a yearly basis from the Participation and Equity Program (PEP).

The three programs are closely linked and share a set of operational principles, outlined as follows. Young people are in a state of transition. They have left childhood and seek the rights and responsibilities of adulthood. It is CITY's philosophy to treat them as adults and to expect them to develop a sense of responsibility and a knowledge of their rights. By enabling them to initiate and manage their own projects and to take the financial responsibility of administering their project funds, CITY is assisting young people in this transition.

Many young unemployed people need to develop a history of work experience in order to become more competitive in the labour market. Unemployment stops young people from gaining this experience. It hinders their development by not allowing them to enjoy the personal and professional benefits of being socially active which occurs in working with other people. It is our proposition that young people who are expected to handle day-to-day living, irrespective of employment status, will do so more effectively if they have mastered general life skills. Community improvement projects can enable young people to develop their work and life skills. At the completion of a project, young people are credited with work experience references, which assist directly in gaining employment.

Young people from all socio-economic backgrounds want to be active and use their potential to contribute to, and benefit from society. Unemployment hinders their development by excluding them from many of the day-to-day functions of a community. If these youth can be provided with resources and support they can assist sections of society in the way they feel most appropriate and at the same time develop their self-esteem, their energy and their skills.

Unemployment stigmatises young people as non-achievers and incapable individuals. A CITY project, run and planned by unemployed youth, offers the opportunity for young people to personally grow in confidence and self-esteem. A successful project planned and run by these people will provide evidence to themselves, to each other and to the community that the major issue of unemployment is the lack of jobs, not their lack of skills or energy.

Young unemployed people should not be exploited. It is important to allow young people to determine whom they want to help, how they want to contribute, and what they want to gain. These iniatives should be

actively supported by the community. CITY supports the initiatives of young unemployed people and allows them to work and manage their own projects in the community. This self-determination policy ensures that young people are committed to their project and enhances its success as a learning experience.

A community setting provides excellent opportunities for young people to develop vocational skills and experience success. CITY is a community based training program which enables young unemployed people to use their community as a classroom and as an 'on the job' training centre. Young people become involved in the design and administration of their own training and work experience. They can therefore identify, develop and practise important life skills.

Young people require facilitators, guarantors and models to learn effectively. The youthworker is trainer and work superviser for CITY projects. He/she facilitates the learning of young people and has the responsibility for ensuring that project participants understand how the skills and experiences developed in a project relate to their overall lives and future directions.

Improvement in the employment situation will be assisted by the community becoming concerned, and taking action, to re-organise society. Involvement of unemployed people within the community, through CITY projects, offers the possibility of concretely linking them into community groups. Publicly relating the efforts of these young people to the community at large has the possibility of further developing community concern about the issues of youth unemployment.

CITY Programs

The CITY High Schools Program has been operating since 1981, and has seen several major developments during that time. Until 1983, student seminars involved working with groups of Years 10, 11 and 12 students, and presenting them with information based on the changing patterns of the labour market; the social, psychological and economic effects of unemployment; the issues related to transition from school, and positive alternatives available to them. While this was successful, it became clear that due to increased awareness of unemployment, the seminar content needed to be changed, to more adequately meet the needs of students and teachers.

Consequently, in 1984, the seminars were developed to more broadly incorporate the issue of 'life skills'. Students are now encouraged to:

- consider how their present situation affects their future
- look at their involvement with their local community
- consider the sort of skills that they need to cope with a rapidly changing society.

The presentation uses a small group work approach, involving trained group leaders working in conjunction with the youth worker.

The Community Projects Program was initiated in 1983. It involves working with groups of students, developing projects based on their own interests and skills. Students choose, plan, budget, program and implement these projects with teacher and youth worker support. As a result of our own responses to teacher and student evaluation of the

program and negotiation with various Education Department project team people, the Community Projects Program has evolved into a semester format. During 1983, the High Schools Program teams met with the senior secondary curriculum project team, at their request, to provide input into some of their curriculum units. One of these units, 'Livelihood' is largely based on the High Schools Community Project Program. Thus we have extended the program to incorporate the Livelihood Unit. The Program now covers issues more extensively and is run on a semester time-table, rather than three terms. As a consequence, the Program requires more resourcing in terms of reading maerial, videos, exercises, etc. to explore issues effectively. We have spent much of our time during second term, planning, researching and preparing information in booklet form for the use of students and teachers.

The Service Clubs Involvement with Youth (SCIY) Program is a community development program based in CITY and funded by the Participation and Equity Program (PEP), Commonwealth Department of Education and Youth Affairs.

The program aims to educate Service Clubs about the situations and needs of young people and about issues and trends in education and employment. It assists Service Clubs to develop projects or programs to benefit young people, either separately or in co-operation with schools, youth services or Government Departments.

The program provides speakers, resource kits and specific information requested by Service Clubs; assists in the planning, implementation and evaluation of projects, and develops links between Service Clubs and local schools or youth services. From July 1984 three part-time workers are employed in the program.

Examples of projects developed to date include youth development programs, seminars for Service Club members, careers information for secondary students, work experience projects, and provision of information about services available to young people.

The Success of CITY

The success of the CITY process is seen in the changes in individual interests, skills, personal presentation and bearing of unemployed people involved in CITY projects. Individual case histories demonstrate that young people undergo dramatic change in their self-appreciation, ability to tackle tasks, acceptance of responsibility and in caring for their personal appearance and health.

This is evident in the size, responsibility and complexity of projects which individuals elect to develop, with a clear progression being promoted and supported by CITY staff. Rarely do unemployed people fail to take or meet the challenge which they themselves discover or with which they are confronted.

CITY has grown from a predominantly volunteer-run organisation to a staff of over 26 paid workers, plus volunteers and students on placement. This is an indication of the measure of support from Governments under which this growth has occurred. This support has also been extended from a wide variety of communities, organisations and individuals as indicated by the success of the High Schools Program and Service Club Involvement with Youth Program, described above.

The number of projects and the numbers of unemployed youth using CITY have kept pace with staffing growth. The year February 1983 to January 1984 showed a 24 per cent increase in the number of unemployed people serviced, compared with the previous year. To be able to show such an increase in the sixth year of operation suggests that the organisation is a vital one and is meeting the needs of the population which it services. 1984/85 goals for growth seek to duplicate this 24 per cent increase.

During 1984/85, CITY will undertake a comprehensive qualitative evaluation of its effect on the skills of individual unemployed peoples - and the changes which occur within individuals during a CITY project. This process and its findings will be available in 1985 and will be the first attempt to measure such change in individual unemployed people.

CITY welcomes enquiries from interested parties and is keen to discuss its philosophies, successes and learnings. CITY believes its methods are clearly applicable to the problems of the unemployed, but are also specifically applicable in developing training systems which are vital, cost effective, and extremely relevant in a wide range of areas of education and training, both for adults and young people.

Further information may be obtained from:

C.I.T.Y.
Marble Hall
Adelaide Railway Station
North Terrace
Adelaide, S.A. 5000 Tel. [08] 227 04441

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POLICIES, PROVISIONS AND PARTICIPATION

OF RENOVATION AND CORPORATE HUMANISM

*by Jim Williamson**

Corporatism and Humanism

In Chapter Four of the Commonwealth Schools Commission (CSC) booklet on Participation and Equity (1984: 18) it is suggested that a fundamental improvement in the quality of schooling is to be aimed for. Further it is suggested that the majority of young people should be encouraged 'to complete the equivalent of a full secondary education'. Elsewhere it is argued that special measures (p.19) will be necessary if these objectives are to be met especially as regards girls, students from disadvantaged socio-economic groups, Aborigines and those from non-English speaking backgrounds.

In another chapter where the characteristics of participation and equity in PEP itself are described, we read that participation is not just meant to be thought of in terms of raising retention rates but also in qualitative terms. As with the notion of participation in the Ministerial Review of Post-Compulsory Schooling in Victoria (1984), it is suggested that schools need to improve their holding-power and their offerings. It is also suggested in the CSC booklet (1984: 12) that participation has much to do with 'the quality of relationships between students, their parents and schools'. Access to decision-making processes and the nature of relations between the main participants (somewhat akin to the concerns enunciated in the report on the experiences of 15/16 year olds (CSC:1980)) are also enumerated.

In regard to equity, the CSC booklet (1984) requires that 'schools and systems will treat all children fairly and, as far as practicable, will avoid policies and practices which advantage some social groups and disadvantage others' (p.13).

The CSC booklet further suggests that underlying the PEP approach is the conviction that full secondary education, or an appropriate equivalent, is intrinsically valuable. Participation, it is noted, should not be valued just because it helps to solve the labour market problems; rather it should make a valuable contribution to all young people and become 'a significant foundation for the emerging national youth policy' (1984: 18). On this issue of a national youth policy, it was suggested in December 1983 by the Minister for Education, Senator Ryan, that PEP would form the **centrepiece** of the Hawke Labor Government's overall framework of youth policies which is being developed.

PEP thus seems to call for an adaptive approach to our problems. On the matter of the so-called fiscal crisis, however, it is quiet. It calls on schools to generate intrinsic values in education if extrinsic ones fade. Education, according to PEP, is to be valued for its metaphysical

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qualities more than for its traditional exchange/commercial advantages. On decision-making, people are to be encouraged to participate - less is said on what it is that may make political power processes worthy of study.

It would seem reasonable to say that PEP offers a view of progress in school and society which is essentially ameliorative in emphasis, conscious of the need for humane institutions, oriented to consensus and respectful of effective management in times of difficulty. It can also be suggested that such characteristics remind one of similar features in what might be termed 'corporate humanism'.

In one of the more recent discussions about corporatism (Hearn, 1983) it is claimed that pragmatic concerns are often seized on in preference to normative ones (p.43); that a spirit of 'consensus and mutual responsibility' will be emphasised as will 'incorporation of key groups and organisations' into the policy-making process (p.42). Hearn mentions progressive type corporatism as well as more authoritarian forms, but in all instances he suggests that corporatism leaves the traditional formulation of state and capital unchallenged. Real improvement, corporatism believes, will come from a revitalised private sector.

One of the more recent discussions of those practices which have emphasised 'humanist' strategies can be found in Hunter (1984) where it is argued that much effort and energy have been directed towards what Foucault calls the biopolitical dimension. It is in the area of the sex education curriculum, Hunter argues, that schools have witnessed a significant expansion and transformation, spear-headed by professionals, to a stage where the approach seems 'politically secure, even if incomplete at the level of school practice' (p.55). While one may care to draw on his article to consider how programs like careers/work experience, transition and even conference writing have developed, his article has been introduced here mainly to highlight the way(s) in which 'new' coalitions can be formed around perceived problems. 'Progressive teachers' and 'enlightened' families, it is suggested, facilitate the construction of a need to introduce 'experts', in this instance from the 'psy' field. [1]

The point can be made that with PEP and even the Transition Program before it, we are seeing the mobilisation of the corporate ethos and the humanist concern. Such a formula is quite an attractive one at a time when many other approaches to social policy seem to be unable to deal with the unhappy economic situation. Moreover, corporate humanism does not seem too harsh; it also seems appealingly realistic: within it, we may not be able to fix the overall situation but certain relative positions may be improved. And while the society may not be able to attend to 'ends', at least it can spend time getting its processes better.

Such an approach may also seek to put more emphasis on what we have rather than on what we lack. That which is missing, or causing pain, or absent may be pushed to the side. It might be suggested we should be pleased about our 90 per cent employment record - the 10 per cent unemployment should be pushed to the back pages.

The corporate humanist strategy would seem to represent a settlement which is somewhat to the right in political terms of that which emerged from the work of earlier settlements especially that which resulted from the thinking of Keynes. Donzelot has suggested that it was the works of

writers like Keynes (and Freud) which have often been called on to provide 'western societies with the means of avoiding the alternative of anarchic liberalism or authoritarian centralism' (1979: 231). Donzelot was, of course, speaking about social theory in regard to the 'policing' of families but, without going too far into discussion about his claims it might be fair to suggest that much public policy (or research for that matter) including PEP is seeking to convince institutions to become more like professional families. Such a proposition for social policy would seem to have more in common with Freud than Keynes.

Retention and Educational Apartheid

If one has to look at how terms like participation or equity are being spoken about or mobilised elsewhere, we can find a fair amount of Freud, quite a lot of managing the problem better and maybe some Keynes. One approach to debate, policy and research which would seem to exhibit such elements is the already referred to Ministerial Review of Post-Compulsory Schooling in Victoria (1984). While it does look to increasing retention rates, better quality schooling, participatory decision-making processes, equal opportunity and altered educational outcomes, its major(?) proposal essentially amounts to a management strategy - it calls for senior community colleges. Thought is concentrated mainly around renovation. What is to become of innovation and could other pathways have been offered?[2]

We can also note in regard to the Ministerial Review (1984) and the PEP material (CSC: 1984) the use of a study by Praetz (1983) to suggest that if you take all the students in schools, TAFE, colleges of advanced education on a full-time basis as well as those in other forms of education and training (say business receptionist and beauty colleges, computer companies or on-the-job training such as nurses, apprenticeships and police) you can find in Victoria in the early 1980s that about 70 per cent of 15-19 year-olds are in education and training (Praetz, 1983). But while such data may be drawn on as an attempt to brighten up our sense of overall achievements we may like to ask a few other questions about this kind of research emphasis.

Is it possible for example that the figures provided by Praetz could be used to argue that an educational apartheid effect (that is a powerful form of streaming) is at work in the upper secondary school range of Victoria? Would we want to claim that an alternative Year 12 course at a western suburbs high school is as valuable (both in use and exchange terms) as a Group I pass at one of the most prestigious private schools? The Ministerial Review at least does note that the total retention to Year 12 in 1982 averaged 39 per cent over all systems, but State schools recorded a figure of 29 per cent in contrast to the Catholic school sector figure of 51 and 95 for other non-Catholic, independent schools. Or further, of what value is it to land an apprenticeship in the motor vehicle industry (including for girls) at a time when trends in the international division of labour are rewriting the ground rules for such work?[3] Further discussion could and probably will proceed about the tendency in much public policy material to concentrate on data from just a few years which might in fact turn out to be non-representative of overall trends.

But let us return instead to a consideration of a view of schooling and work that it may be argued managed to avoid some of the corporatist/humanist aspects of many of our more recent offerings. It was the Poverty and Education Report of 1976 which indicated that participation rates in schools did much to reflect unequal outcomes from schooling for certain groups (Ch.2). This Report noted especially that 'those who gain least from the schooling system tend to be at the bottom of the social scale where lack of post-school qualifications perpetuates their position' (pp.35-36). The holding power of private schools especially was reported on, noting particularly the retention rate to Year 12 in Victoria for government and non-government schools in 1974. Government schools recorded a retention rate of 24.7 and the others 61.0 per cent (p.23). Elsewhere (1982/83: 189) it has been reported by Teese that retention rates to Year 12 in 1974 for the private sector could be broken down further into 41.64 per cent for the Catholic sector and 109.78 for the private non-Catholic sector.

The material that the Poverty and Education Report provided in 1976 offered not just a consideration of unequal outcomes but discussion of a broader social framework which examined and reported on matters like limited life chances as well as trends to decreased work opportunities, greater likelihood of unemployment, and differences in income levels or inequalities experienced along class, gender or race lines. It was their report that reminded us that fewer than 2 per cent of Aboriginals completed Year 10.

While the Poverty Inquiry material placed its discussion of outcomes from education in a longitudinal but comparative framework which highlights continued and integrated pressures to inequality, some of the more recent material about patterns of schooling, especially that of Teese, should give us cause for concern that inequalities in schooling, especially by type of school, may have been worsening. Teese (1982/83) has argued in a study of Victorian secondary schools from the early 1950s to the early 1980s that political and economic apparatuses, not just schooling, have ensured the triumph of private over public goals, especially since the early 1970s. He reported that the proportion of students aged 15-19 enrolled in the State sector peaked at 71.79 in 1971 but was down to 67.45 by 1981. In contrast, the relevant percentages for the Catholic sector moved from 16.83 to 20.08 for the same period and the other private sector rose from an all-time low of 11.38 to 12.47.[4]

But while it may be of interest to consider why it is that proposals to do with participation and equity (not just in schools but in social life) seem to have been moved onto the backburners, let us turn our attention now to a specific school/community that has had to grapple with the difficult economic times and seek to offer a quality education. It is not suggested that the one example can be used to launch a broad, national strategy or blueprint. It is suggested that developments in this school could be material for consideration more widely.

Sunshine High School

The school/community reported on here is discussed more fully in the evaluation report on Sunshine High 1976-1982 (Jones, Metcalfe, Williams and Williamson). Sunshine is located in a vulnerable manufacturing area of Melbourne. In the mid-1970s 6 per cent of the students came from

professional/managerial homes. Over 50 per cent of students came from non-English speaking backgrounds and it was evident that many girls from certain ethnic groupings were not getting through to the end of secondary school. But how did participation and equity come to be spoken of there, and was it also advancing corporate/humanistic endeavours? The first question may be easier to answer; the second is for the reader to decide.

Reference to the material on retention rates at Sunshine (1982: 38) to Year 11 indicates that a figure of 68 per cent retention was recorded between 1971-76 (Teese reported figures of an average of 56.25 for all government schools in Victoria including junior techs.). Since the adoption of specific school goals in 1976, the retention rates to 1982 have averaged 78 per cent. Quantitatively speaking, it could be argued that the school was doing something different and better, and the achievement of a 10 per cent increase in contrast to average increase figures for Victoria of 5 per cent may give us cause for some congratulation. Increased retention was even more evident in the vertically organised Years 9/10/11 program. Kosky (1981) reported that 90 per cent of those who entered the Year 10 component of the sub-school in 1977 completed Year 11, in contrast to 72 per cent for the mainstream group. Subsequent comparisons of figures also suggest that the Years 9/10/11 sub-school achieved a higher retention rate to Year 11 of around 20 per cent for five out of six cohorts. The nature of the school goals and Years 9/10/11 sub-school are discussed in considerable detail in Jones et al. (see esp. pp.12, 22-28, 39-41).

Participation was also taken to be important at Sunshine especially in regard to such matters as how decisions were made, what it is that could be seen to count as knowledge and what might be termed the limits to educational change. It is reported in Jones et al., for example, that the school staff voted in 1976 to pursue a goal of increased decision-making which would extend the opportunities for all members of the school community to exercise intelligent political choices. It was specifically argued that all should receive experience in executive, judicial and legislative processes, not just in planning/organisation, but in classroom forms of learning as well. The development of sub-schools, an open-curriculum committee and support from the new administration helped to pave the way for experiments in democratic decision-making which emphasised rights not just responsibilities. We can pause to look at two key examples founded on notions of student participation and ownership.[5]

During 1977 a Year 10 student proposed that the vertical 9/10/11 sub-school should establish a staff-student congress that would give students the avowed democratic opportunities. What emerged from that proposal was an important mechanism and forum for planning, educational debate and grievance resolution. Some three years after the establishment of that staff-student congress the evaluation of school goals reported on in Jones et al. (p.vii) indicated that 100 per cent of 9/10/11 sub-school staff supported the notion of student rights; only 50 per cent of social science staff supported such a notion.

It is further noted in the report (especially Parts 6-9) that many staff, students and parents felt that the school needed not just to alter its goals or its structures and the outcomes of its students, but that significant attention needed to be given to altered curriculum, especially as regards content and method. The concern to generate different methodology came through especially in the introduction of cross-age-tutoring programs; student as author units; parent-assisted reading in English; oral history and community research (not just in social science);

an emphasis on production and performance in the arts/crafts; and the establishment of the well-supported school/community, multi-lingual newspaper, Profile. Subsequent evaluations also showed that the multi-lingual newspaper at that school was seen to be the aspect of the school program which contributed most to the achievement of the school's goal on culture and multi-culturism.

But it would be to the community research programs run in the vertically organised 9/10/11 sub-school, or 'school within a school' that one could turn to find a powerful example of attempts to construct new forms of understanding - and not only in its advocacy of students becoming producers (as distinct from consumers) of knowledge. By 1982, the scheme had organised itself so that about 40 students of mixed ages could work with two Maths/Science and two Humanities/Commerce staff for up to 4 hours each week. Within that framework, students, staff and available others defined what they saw as social difficulties or situations which they felt could do with study and action. Matters of youth unemployment, lack of recreation, inadequate transport, the absence of clearly stated youth rights are just a few of the matters that came under attention and a reading of Profile editions for 1982 will highlight the extensive range of that work, much of which was used later to support the argument for a selective employment program in Sunshine which generated about 25 jobs in entertainment, community research and Sunshine's long-term future.[6]

Of particular note in the community research work would be the study undertaken in Victorian youth prisons where students from Sunshine High, other primary schools in the region and students from the Broadmeadows area proposed to the Victorian Government ways of reducing levels of youth crime. The youth researchers argued that the provision of more rewarding forms of work, of adequate income, of active forms of recreation, of association with friendly adults - all contribute a great deal to quality life: they did not conclude that young people needed more Big Macs.

The evaluation at Sunshine also highlighted many difficulties that surround work at the school level, especially the tenuous nature of some gains. It is reported in the evaluation, for example, that the vertical 9/10/11 program, which had worked to confront and deal with inequalities in work, power and culture and which had had an adequate record in generating success in a conventional sense as well as in other fields, was closed down at the end of 1982. That decision was taken against the advice of the Curriculum Committee and obviously caused dissension (Jones et al. 1982: 41). But how might that kind of difficulty be resolved, or dealt with, these days? Would the establishment of an agreement to disagree ensure that programs with a demonstrated record on better participation rates would be offered some sort of guarantee? But what then would happen to programs that did not want to concentrate on participation as a sign of success? It would seem to be apparent that very little of the literature available on participation/equity thus far has many leads to offer about dealing with entrenched conflict(s). Or to pose the concern in the appropriate phrases of our time, What happens when consensus breaks down?

While it is evident that increased length of schooling had extensive support at Sunshine, especially amongst parents, it is noted in the Sunshine report that the school and others should be very careful about using retention rates as a sign of success (Jones et al. 1982: 38) especially since it might mean that in times of high unemployment schools are just acting as more efficient warehouses. It could also mean (and again there seems to be little recognition of this in much public research

and policy) that those who are retained longer are those who were traditionally disadvantaged under the older systems anyway and would continue to be so disadvantaged.

If we care to place some of these preceding remarks alongside those about the trend to corporate humanism and renovation it could be suggested that Sunshine like many schools tries to have a bit both ways; namely it wants to be seen as successful in traditional terms but also wishes to be seen to be somewhat different - this may or may not be more so in 1984 than in 1980. But this article is interested to note whether steps were taken to guard against (for lack of a better expression) approaches to schooling that emphasised what Hunter has called 'laughter and warmth' and which Hearn describ[illegible]s 'corporatism'.

Though all participants may not have held the same view it is suggested in the body of the report, as well as in the afterword, that while the school might like to analyse and act on perceived problems of social life (unemployment, powerlessness, etc.) it could not of itself solve them. This recognition that action needs to proceed across schools and society, not just within one element, separates much of that work at Sunshine from that of corporate humanism which urges activity but within specified parameters.

To a large extent it could be suggested that the evaluation at Sunshine indicated that many were interested not so much in what we do about the status quo, but in what it is that generates a certain status quo. Nor was there complete agreement that schools were part of the problem and could not be part of a solution. This rejection of an overly deterministic reproductionist line and an acknowledgement that it was worth considering how schools might address (not accept or be overwhelmed by) substantive matters owed something to certain other ideas and intentions or plans. [7]

There was amongst many staff a strong commitment to the idea that human potential is infinite (Braverman, 1974); yet there were also strong commitments to broader educational goals of economic, political and cultural formation. The report notes especially (p.24) that the interest in a goal-based education (as distinct from goal-based assessment) and notions of human ingenuity should be translated into a practice at the level of the curriculum. It was also felt, however, that the curriculum should refrain from adopting a survivalist or life-adjustment emphasis (as Bowers, 1969, called it). The report suggests that the curriculum in the school and especially in the sub-school would seek to organise itself around 'the possibilities and problems of war and peace, racism, poverty and social inequality, unemployment and the lack of socially and environmentally defensible work opportunities'.

It is in the transition and reform study (Kemmis et al.: 1983) that such an approach to education is called social action and it is to that report that readers interested in the 'transition' from the Transition Program to PEP may like to turn. That report notes, amongst other things, that much Transition work under the Transition Education Advisory Committee (TEAC) sought to deal with teacher (student) alienation and while those concerned about corporate/humanism may say that such a formulation over-psychologises the nature of the dilemmas, the report does make it evident that not all schools act in a ritualistic way (false consciousness). Their report also opens up the matter of gender bias to a greater extent than does the Sunshine material. Maybe it has taken

longer for sex bias issues and classroom dynamics to get to centre stage than it has for matters of class inequality. If I were to work as a teacher again in a secondary school, then material such as that from the Commonwealth Schools Commission (1975), from Ramsay on language in the classroom (1983) and from Wilson and Wyn (1983) on youth/livelihood might well prove very helpful.

But let us now turn from this brief summary of some of the aims and outcomes of activity at Sunshine to making some observations about particiption/equity. To some extent I will draw on the issues of goal-based education, programs across school and social life as well as learning situations which emphasise encouraging people to be informed producers of knowledge not just intelligent critics.

Rhetoric and Action

To take the matter of school and social life first it is argued that it is unwise for governments to suggest that PEP may form the heart of a youth policy. PEP may turn out to be one of the flowers in a spring garden but to claim much more would involve stretching our credibility somewhat. Within a budget of less than $100 million, PEP may be able to offer something substantial about curriculum for example, but as regards meeting youth needs on matters like work, income, housing, transport, combinations of work/study, etc.?

If **something** were to form the centrepiece of youth policy, then maybe it should be the State system as a whole - but this would open up debates which are unlikely to lead to consensus. There will also be those who think that a 'heart' should be built around ideas, who would not rank participation as highly as positive discrimination. In short, PEP may have something to offer in quality of schooling; but could it offer much in quality of life?

To take this point further. If PEP continues to aim high and wide, it will perpetuate not just a delusion, but a way of looking at things which ignores what really does need to be done about those problems which are larger than schools but impinge on how schooling is seen.

Action does need to be taken to improve the quality of schools. But where is the wider action to accompany the rhetoric: action to meet the perceived needs of youth for work or income; let alone the needs of the old, the retrenched, the married women who would like to work and so on. It could be argued that effective social policy, not just youth policy, would go to the heart of these needs; and it certainly would not generate a situation where the young were advanced at the expense of others. Effective social policy would seek to generate work and career options (Polk, 1984) and livelihood (Dwyer, Wilson and Woock: 1984 or Wilson and Wyn: 1983). And, as mentioned earlier, writers such as Teese, Marginson and Stockley would say that there should be an extensive re-ordering of priorities in the funding of education.

Now, to some extent, we can see here two of the essential short-comings of corporate/humanist strategy. On the one hand, it is underresourced to do what it says it will do; and secondly it tends to downplay or discount those matters which are seen to limit its stated aims. It will parade the rhetoric of dealing with externalities on the surface, but those very externalities will be decried as such, if and when necessary.

The discrepancy between the rhetoric of altered outcomes and what actually happens is likely to be felt at the local school/community level. But instead of blaming the individual schools for failing to do something that they may contribute to but cannot finally control, perhaps we should turn our attention towards those who invent new or offer renovated lines of pursuit.

So while this article will conclude with the usual call for additional evidence and data and research (especially on destinations of students, income levels, work, trends in the organisation of production, tertiary access, gender bias, regional variations, public/private statistics); and while I want more dialogue at the school/community level (especially on curriculum), I would also urge that the Central Authorities formulate policies which are resourced with dollars. Some may say this is just a dream in a less than benign economic climate but others would say it is time to direct some greater level of attention to such matters. The transition program managed to focus our attention towards the schools and away from the economy. Will PEP lead us a similar way? Equally, is there value in promoting full secondary education if full employment does not exist?

The article could continue to amplify further sets of concerns or interests around the discourse on participation, equity and PEP, but I want to make a closing request that those associated with the implementation of PEP do seek to offer some comments on what they think PEP means. It would be interesting to hear more on just how it is different from previous educational initiatives and in what ways or why?

It may also be interesting to call for further comment on just how it is that something like PEP might seriously address the crucial issues raised by the Sunshine example. Take, for example, the recommendations from the Sunshine report which suggested that a fifteen-year longitudinal study and extensive alterations (not renovations) of Maths/Science curriculum may be desirable. If there is something above all that needs to be asked of PEP, it is how it may be used to reduce the dominance of certain studies that are seen to be the pathway to technological riches. Einstein, in response to the question, What weapons will be used in World War III? replied that he didn't know. He claimed however that he did know what weapons would be used in World War IV - rocks.

Maybe in this pre-World War III period, our main problems are more political and economic than educational. Maybe the distinguishing feature of corporate/humanistic rhetoric is its capacity to suggest otherwise.

FOOTNOTES

1. More detail on the ways that the 'psy' forces come to be the **centre** of activity around correction of misbehaviour is explored in the article by Hunter (1984). Also helpful is Hinkson's analysis of the emergence of emphasis on therapeutic management (1976). See also Grace (1978).

2. On the matter of senior colleges the Victorian Secondary Teachers' Association (VSTA) has moved to reject (to a large extent) involvement in such initiatives. (Refer VSTA News, No. 16, 1984).

3. See for example, Gallagher (1979) or Windschuttle (1981), especially Chapter 2.

4. Additional argument on 'privatisation' can be found in Marginson (1982) or Stockley (1983). We could also add here the observation that much of the argument in Victoria about participation and privatisation has not taken adequate account of some features of tertiary inequalities offered for example by Nicholls and Preston (1983). Refer also, Brewster, Riggs and Ey (1984). A good handbook on funding trends has been published by the Commission (1984) - to some extent it may be a more valuable starting point for debate than PEP. See also Gilmour and Lansburg (1978).

5. A longer discussion of student rights is offered in The Australian Teacher, No.3, February (1984), in a supplement on youth policy entitled 'The New Down and Outs'. That article acknowledges the suggestions by Fearl around freedom of expression, privacy, due legal process, involvement in informed debate, freedom of movement, political and cultural pluralism, a liveable environment and protection from cruel and unjust punishment (including harassment) not just for the young, but for all citizens (see Atrocity of Education, 1972).

6. Herald, 11 July, 1983, p.4.

7. Some interest was directed towards the findings of work by Radford and Wilkes (School Leavers in Australia, 1975) but it would be to Anderson and Vervoorn (1983) that schools might like to turn for more recent material on the extent to which certain patterns of privilege have prevailed.

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EDUCATIONAL OPTIONS FOR TEENAGE MOTHERS*

*by Jane Delin***

"I'm glad I had a boy and not a girl - boys don't get pregnant!'. This remark from the father of a new-born son illustrates the horror that many people still feel at the idea of girls becoming pregnant outside marriage. Some would prefer their daughters to be dead; most would prefer not to think about the subject. In the past, the Education Department has reflected these attitudes. It has conducted virtually no follow-ups of teenage mothers; it has demonstrated a lack of interest that goes way beyond respect for the privacy of the girls and their families.

School girls who become pregnant are given an automatic exemption from schooling (if under 15 years). In many cases they are discouraged from returning to school by school administrators who seem to fear some form of 'moral' contamination (though teenage fathers may remain in their schools). The girls are allowed to drift away, their education incomplete, cut-off from education/career options. Special programs are organised for sick or handicapped students but pregnant teenagers, apparently, are beyond the pale.

There is one major facility for unmarried mothers in South Australia: St Joseph's Centre, Fullarton, a Roman Catholic institution. The Centre offers accommodation and support for single women during pregnancy, an after-care program and some short-term educational programs. Less than 10 per cent of teenage mothers use this facility and most of them are non-Catholic and from government schools.

Lately there has been an upsurge of interest in the situation of teenage mothers, their education and welfare and a working party was set up in the Education Department to examine educational provisions for teenage mothers and pregnant teenagers in South Australia.

The Teenage Mothers' Working Party

The Teenage Mothers' Working Party was established by the Director-General of Education (Mr J. Steinle) in 1981 to examine the educational experiences and aspirations of teenage mothers and to identify appropriate education and training options. The Working Party became aware that there was very little information available on school-age mothers in South Australia and Sue Ellen Carey was appointed in 1983 with Schools Commission funding to research the area. Her report[1] to the Teenage Mothers' Working Party confirmed its suspicions and formed the basis for its report and recommendations to the Director-General of Education.[2]

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* *This article was first printed in Pivot, the magazine of the S.A. Department of Education, Vol.11, No.4, 1984.*

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Carey's study presents a grim picture:

> Each year in South Australia 400-500 children are born to mothers 17 years old and under. Very few are given over for adoption; the vast majority will be raised by their youthful mothers - sometimes alone, sometimes with the help of grandparents. The number of young mothers who choose "shotgun marriages" has decreased markedly in recent years. However, some girls do choose to marry or enter de facto relationships with the baby's father or another male. In any case, the home environment which the very young mother is able to provide for herself and her child is likely to be characterised by meagre income, frequent moves, unstable relationships, poor communication, inadequate nutrition, a lack of intellectual stimulation, and a high propensity for stress.[3]

Who Becomes a Teenage Mother?

Maybe because of social taboos and the consequent secrecy, it has been hard to come to firm conclusions about which girls become mothers. It would seem that teenage pregnancy is no respecter of social class and American research[4] indicates that the only common denominator among school age mothers is sexual intercourse! However, Carey's study of South Australian teenagers reveals distinct trends. Her findings suggest that:

- girls with academic interests and career aspirations are likely to consider abortion or adoption as alternatives to teenage motherhood
- many teenage mothers have low self-esteem, poor academic records, and no expectation of future roles other than motherhood
- girls who leave school early are at risk of becoming pregnant within a year of leaving school.

Perhaps surprisingly, there appears to have been no rise in the number of teenage mothers to parallel the rise in unemployment among girls. However, unemployment could be a factor in that girls without jobs may have little or no structure in their lives and faint hopes of ever being employed. In fact, the number of school-age mothers has been decreasing over the last decade because of the availability of abortion and contraception. Nevertheless, there are still significant numbers of very young mothers each year; enough to approximate the female population of a large metropolitan high school!

Teenage Mothers: A Problem

The fact that teenage mothers are being investigated suggests that they have a problem. However, most of them do not see themselves in that light. Money, accommodation, childcare: these are problems, teenage motherhood is not. In general the girls interviewed seemed content with their situation. As Carey says:

> When few other options seem open to them, parenthood offers a new social identity and a sense of arriving at adult status.[5]

In the short term the young mothers seem able to cope. It it in the long term that problems surface as the young mothers become older women without skills, education and resources.

Education and Training Plans

Few of the girls interviewed by Carey had any educational plans or aspirations. They held strongly to the belief that pregnancy meant the end of schooling.

> ... the view was stated that a girl must suffer the consequences of her actions and getting pregnant meant giving up school and other future plans and taking the role of motherhood full-time.[6]

A number of the young mothers, however, were interested in education and were actually involved in courses at St Joseph's Centre and at Coolock House (a 'mothering' unit run by the Sisters of Mercy, South of Adelaide). Parenting and sewing classes seemed to have particular appeal. Others had gone on to secretarial colleges and tertiary education. It seems that very young mothers, far more than older mothers, are fully occupied with their babies and need time, maturity and encouragement to develop career aspirations and educational plans for themselves.

Educational Options

The Working Party felt that there was an opportunity to expand the role of primary schools. It seems that when young mothers bring their children to schools and child/parent centres they often feel ready to be involved in courses that seem relevant; e.g. child development and nutrition courses. Indeed, some primary schools and child/parent centres in areas of highest need are experimenting with such courses. It is possible that in the non-threatening environment of primary schools young parents can become sufficiently confident to go further with their education.

The Working Party also noted that schools which have encouraged school leavers to return to unstructured courses (Bowden Brompton Community Workshop School, for instance) have also attracted young single mothers. These and other options are discussed in Carey's study and in the Working Party's report and recommendations to the Director-General of Education.[7]

The Obstacle Course

If and when a young single mother tries to form career/job plans the obstacles are many. Childcare is one of the most severe. Carey says:

> For the very young mother who has left school early, the problem is exacerbated by the fact that even before she can consider getting a reasonable job she may need to undertake some form of education or training. Here, too, the problem for some girls is not only the lack of childcare facilities

> but the cost. Even at a subsidised rate, Family Day Care is seen by some as too expensive to use on a regular basis and unless a creche is available at or quite near the location of her courses, transport to a day care centre can be too complicated for a girl with a baby or young child. Some childcare centres do not take infants under the age of two years and many girls have a second baby by the time the first is two.[8]

Childcare is not the only obstacle. The Working Party became convinced that the problems confronting the young mothers are complex and go well beyond the interests and jurisdiction of the Education Department. The Working Party's report says:

> Ms Carey's research suggests that while many teenage mothers cope on a day-to-day basis because of the Supporting Parents' Benefit, it is likely that the majority will remain on the benefit for a very long time, thus restricting their life chances and those of their children. The incentives that lead to long term dependency on benefits are strong; the disincentives to self-improvement and advancement are many and complex. Some of these disincentives relate to the attitudes of the girls and of society. Other disincentives and problems are more easily countered in theory but become difficult in practice because the involvement of different government agencies is required. Access to education, for example, may involve the education system but childcare and transport problems inevitably arise. Similarly, matters relating to the welfare of teenage mothers and their children may have implications for the Education Department, the Health Commission and the Housing Trust as well as for the Department of Technical and Further Education.[9]

Even the humane and generally beneficial Supporting Parents' Benefit can become an obstacle for the very young parent. Carey says:

> What a bitter irony it is that the current welfare policies which enable premature independence for teenage mothers also serve to entrap them and their children in a self-defeating cycle of poverty and social stagnation. It is a sad fact that for many, one of the consequences of early parenthood is likely to be poverty, or near-poverty, for a lifetime.[10]

Accordingly, the first and major recommendation of the Working Party both in its Interim Report (May 1983), and the final report was for an inter-systemic committee to co-o dinate policy, action and research in the area.

School Obstacles

Teenage pregnancy and parenthood appeared to be a difficult subject for the high schools to deal with. Most schools do not have a policy regarding pregnant or post-parturition students. Some schools are happy to let them drift away. Others discourage them from returning (in the girls' best interests): 'This is a fiercely outwardly moral town. A girl wouldn't want to show her face very much - she would probably do well to leave'.[11]

Some teachers felt that 'parents would object'; others feared some kind of moral contamination. One school felt that having a pregnant girl wearing the school uniform would reflect badly on the school's reputation. Doubt was expressed at some schools about the teenage mother's ability to combine work and baby. One school simply wrote 'students returning to school must not bring their babies'.[12] Other reasons were more convoluted, for example:

> If a child is under 18 she must be treated as a child; if they are over 18 they are treated as a person and we can tailor a program as needed, but not for those under 18.[13]

The Education Department's Role

The necessity for a multilateral approach from government departments and agencies does not absolve the Education Department from responsibility and action. Carey's report revealed that few of the school-age mothers interviewed had received - or remembered - any counselling about sexuality. They had left school with an inability to make informed decisions about a basic and most important area of their lives. Nevertheless each was required to make momentous decisions about keeping or giving up her child or take entire responsibility for another young person's welfare.

The Working Party concluded that the situation of teenage mothers was a **mainstream** concern which highlighted deficiencies in curriculum and processes that affect all students. Consequently some of the recommendations in the final report to the Director-General point to changes in school courses.

The Recommendations of the Teenage Mothers' Working Party[14]

1. Intersystemic Committee

That the Education Department continue to support the formation of the intersystemic committee of people working in health, education and welfare ... This Committee would co-ordinate policies, action and research and make recommendations for the provision of services to meet the present and future needs of teenage mothers, young fathers and their families.

2. Right of Girls to Schooling

1) That the Education Department recognise the right of girls to complete their education at a time appropriate to them by encouraging part-time options and alternative school structures and arranging for childcare when necessary.
2) The Director-General take action to ensure the Administrative Instructions and Guidelines statement on 'Exemption from attendance' (Section 3, Para.3.3) be reviewed and revised to include a statement that permanent exemption from school for teenage mothers must not be encouraged. However, if exemption is the wish of the student, regional directors should ensure:

- . that there has been adequate counselling of a supportive nature in conjunction with family and appropriate community organisations
- . that the counselling includes information such as the full range of educational options available to the student both then and in the future, and other community services that are available to assist (community health centres, etc.)
- . that girls are encouraged to return to school after the birth of their babies.

3. Support for St Joseph's Centre, Fullarton

That the Director-General of Education negotiate with the Director of Catholic Education to jointly provide the teaching support required by St Joseph's Centre, Fullarton, to maintain and develop education programs for teenage mothers, and to develop an efficient administrative process for the delivery of this support.

4. School Programs

1) That the Director-General of Education take immediate action through the Curriculum Directorate to ensure that social skills programs are developed in schools (primary and secondary) in accordance with the recommendations of The Report of Representatives of the Department of Education and the Health Commission (1981) and with the involvement of the appropriate Education Department standing committees dealing with health and sexuality.
2) That the Education Department continue to support and develop further ongoing programs to discourage sex role stereotyping at all levels of schooling with the aim of countering the negative attitudes, the low self-esteem and aspirations that lead girls into teenage motherhood. This would include work in the Transition Education Unit, the 4S Project and the Equal Opportunities Unit.
3) That the Director-General of Education ensure that teenage mothers and their concerns be considered by the 4S Committee and the Youth Policy Group so that they can be integrated in to any new structures for schooling.

5. Inservice: Awareness Raising

That the Director-General ensure support is provided for inservice activities for the administrative staff in regional offices and schools to raise awareness of the educational issues and options that relate to teenage mothers.

6. Provision of Counselling Services

That the Education Department promote and support the pastoral care aspect of schooling and assist teachers to develop counselling skills. Some key teachers should also be trained in the specific area of sexuality, teenage pregnancy and continuing/further education and training options. Teachers and counsellors should also be aware of and able, if necessary, to help girls through the process of grief associated with the post-adoption period. Resources and teacher inservice training will be required to ensure that appropriate skills are developed.

7. Research into Needs of Children of Teenage Mothers

That the Director-General of Education recommend the establishment of a research project which identifies the special needs of young children of teenage mothers. This would include the documentation of the schools' response to the needs of both the children and young parents and the implications of such research.

8. Monitoring Committee

That a small committee be appointed to advise the Assistant Director-General (Schools) on direct action required for the provision of educational options for teenage mothers and that this group monitor and review the initiatives recommended.

Since the publication of Educational Options for Teenage Mothers, and the Teenage Mothers' Working Party Report to the Director-General of Education the following things have happened:

- A research team has been established in the Public Service Board's Management Review Section by the then Women's Adviser to the Premier (Rosemary Wighton) to review government and community agencies for teenage mothers and to make recommendations for improving services and policies. The team consists of Anne Hooper and Barbara Renton. The team will report (in September 1984) to the Human Services Committee of Cabinet.
- St Joseph's Centre has been given a block grant of $12,000 by the Education Department to develop further its educational program for pregnant and post parturition women.
- The Monitoring Committee has been established and is convened by the Assistant Director-General of Education (Schools), Mr J.R. Giles.
- Limited numbers of the reports can be obtained from Jane Delin and Elsie Saint in the Research Section.

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PARTICIPATION AND EQUITY: POLICIES AND DIRECTIONS

Summaries of recent reports and Guidelines

by C. Blakers

. COMMONWEALTH TERTIARY EDUCATION COMMISSION

Report for 1985-87 Triennium. Vol.1, Part 5. Advice of Technical and Further Education Council. Canberra: AGPS, April 1984 [190p.]

Government policies and guidelines have raised important new issues of significance for TAFE. This report represents the TAFE Council's early though considered response to the issues. TAFE now has an established place in tertiary education providing skills training for the labour force and opportunity for individuals to develop personal and vocational potential. In its diversity of courses and of students, it reflects more truly than other sectors of tertiary education the social and economic structure of Australian society. Its objectives have been based on the aim of providing access for all Australians according to their needs. In this, the Commonwealth in its funding and policies has played a significant role, expressed most recently in the Participation and Equity Program. It is to these policies of increased participation and equality of access that this advice for the triennium is directed. Chapter 1 reviews the aims and objectives of TAFE and the Commonwealth achievements in TAFE, and identifies what remains to be done in terms of accommodation, equipment, curricula, staffing and staff development, management and courses.

Chapter 2 deals in some detail with the close and complex relationship between TAFE and the labour market, which arises from the high proportion of students who attend TAFE courses for direct vocational purposes: apprenticeships, retraining and preparation for work. Changes in labour market demand affect TAFE provisions, and in recent years economic recession and increasing unemployment have been reflected in new demands on TAFE. In the next triennium, account must be taken in TAFE provision for needs in a number of areas: part-time courses combined with employment (such as apprenticeship); courses for the young unemployed; and for displaced experienced workers; full-time trade and pre-vocational courses; courses for those seeking to re-enter the workforce (for many women, for example); courses not directly related to employment such as adult education and HSC courses. Enrolment trends in each of these categories will reflect circumstances external to TAFE and the uncertainties make resource prediction and provision difficult. Nevertheless, the Chapter reaffirms the two major objectives which TAFE must pursue: to provide the knowledge, skills and educational environment necessary for a competent, adaptable and well informed workforce; to assist young people to make a satisfactory transition from schooling to adult life. In changing social circumstances, these objectives require flexibility and responsiveness in TAFE operations. This need for flexibility is emphasised by the overview presented in the rest of Chapter 2, covering the youth labour market, employment trends by occupation and skill, and the educational and resource implications for TAFE. The report sees little to indicate any dramatic upturn in full-time employment

opportunities for young people. There will be a continuing responsibility for schools and TAFE jointly to meet the needs of these young people. Among the occupational/skill trends noted in the report are: the rise in 'white collar' employment along with a decline in trade occupations; the increased participation of women in the workforce, particularly in lower level 'white collar' occupations; the sharp reduction in the level of industry training effort, particularly noticeable in apprenticeships. These trends all have implications for TAFE, and these are discussed in the rest of the Chapter, arguing for a continuing role in trade training to meet changing needs along with a broadening of the TAFE role in vocational courses outside the trade areas, such as those for technicians and para-professionals. There is also a continuing and growing need for re-training, refresher and recurrent education courses.

In Chapter 3, the report covers participation and resources in TAFE. It reviews present (1982) levels of participation and student load in TAFE and the resources available, indicating major growth in the number of full-time enrolments in TAFE but a continuing very high percentage (90 per cent) of part-time students. The Chapter then summarises the projections of TAFE development and the implications in terms of education and resources, going on to present the Council's projections of the rate of growth and pattern of development of TAFE for the 1985-87 triennium. The Chapter presents a very useful and clear overview of student participation in TAFE courses, showing also how this compares with other sectors of tertiary education. Because of the contribution to general information on education participation, we are attaching to this summary some brief excerpts which we believe will be of wide interest.

Chapter 4 foreshadows an early review of the form and extent of Commonwealth support for TAFE, drawing attention to some of the issues which make a comprehensive review desirable.

Chapter 5 is a substantial chapter concerned with some issues of importance for TAFE. It points out that, though TAFE students are broadly representative of the socio-economic spectrum, there are still some significant problems of access and participation to be overcome; for example, the overwhelming dominance of males in apprenticeships. Among the areas of particular concern discussed in the chapter are: adult literacy, migrant education, the Participation and Equity Program, women and girls in TAFE, Aborigines in TAFE, small business management education, middle level courses, college services, curriculum development, external studies, learning resource centres, the use of facilities in industry by TAFE, staff development, management information systems.

Detailed discussion of and recommendations on funding and resources for the triennium are provided in the last three Chapters 6-8. Chapter 6 argues for increased recurrent support for TAFE, to assist the States in meeting the substantial pressures and expectations generated by the Commonwealth's policy of increased participation in education and training and a more direct role for TAFE in maximising equality of opportunity. Chapters 7 and 8 deal with Special Equipment Grants and Capital Expenditure Grants. Appendix A lists the major TAFE Colleges throughout Ausdtralia in 1983; Appendix B lists proposed TAFE building projects in the 1985-87 triennium.

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CHAPTER 3 - PARTICIPATION AND RESOURCES

3.1 In this chapter the Council examines how TAFE might be expected to contribute to the national goal of increased educational opportunities for Australians in the course of the 1985-87 triennium. The CTEC has asked the Council to give special attention to enrolment levels, particularly full-time enrolment levels, in recommending a program for the next triennium, and to comment in particular on cases where lack of State funding is likely to be a constraint on enrolments. The latter consideration is of major importance in view of the primary responsibility of State Governments for the financing of TAFE; already in 1983, for example, resource constraints have obliged a number of TAFE authorities to impose stringent limits on the size of intakes into many vocational and preparatory courses. The Council considers firstly the present (1982) levels of participation and student load in TAFE and the resources currently available to TAFE authorities to service that load. It then summarises the projections of TAFE development supplied in the triennial submissions of TAFE authorities and provides an assessment of these projections on both educational and fiscal grounds. On the basis of this assessment, finally, it presents its own projections of the rate of growth and pattern of development of TAFE in the 1985-87 triennium.

PARTICIPATION IN TAFE

3.2 Table 3.1 summarises the latest national statistics, for calendar year 1982, of the size of the TAFE student population and some key demographic characteristics of participants in TAFE. Thegreat diversity of TAFE's educational provision demands that a distinction be drawn between a number of major categories of courses which differ in their vocational objectives, attendance patterns and in the types of student they typically attract. The present 'stream of study classification identifies six such major categories, four for courses which are specifically vocational in their objectives and one each for courses of a preparatory or remedial nature (Stream 5) and for leisure or general enrichment courses (Stream 6). The degree of student involvement in TAFE varies widely between these streams, from an annual average of 322 hours in basic trade courses (Stream 3a) to only 37 hours for students enrolled in the adult education stream.

3.3 Adults constitute a clear majority of all TAFE students. More than 62 per cent of students in the vocational and preparatory streams (Streams 1-5) are aged 20 or older, and nearly 30 per cent aged 30 or more. In Stream 6 courses these proportions rise to 89 per cent and 61 per cent

TABLE 3.1

SUMMARY CHARACTERISTICS OF TAFE STUDENTS, BY STREAM OF STUDY - AUSTRALIA, 1982

Stream of study	Number of students		Age distribution (%)			Female proportion (%)	Average annual student contact hours per student
	Total	Full-time(a)	15-19	20-29	30 and over		
1 (Professional)	2,971	433	30.2	42.1	27.7	38.4	264
2 (Para-professional)	199,973	20,344	22.6	43.5	33.9	37.8	254
3a (Basic trade)	133,968	8,855	81.6	16.2	2.2	7.4	322
3b (Post-trade)	30,557	579	21.2	49.6	29.2	6.8	150
4 (Other skilled)	216,829	12,938	25.7	33.1	41.3	57.4	158
5 (Preparatory)	175,590	15,860	41.2	27.7	31.1	56.5	185
TOTAL 1-5	729,291(b)	61,670(b)	37.7	32.4	29.9	41.4	228
6 (Adult education)	297,761	-	10.8	28.6	60.6	71.1	37

(a) Students enrolled in programs requiring class attendance (or equivalent external study load) of 540 hours or more during 1982.

(b) Adjusted for students enrolled in more than one of Streams 1-5.

respectively. Only in basic trade courses does a high proportion of students (82 per cent in 1982) come from the 15-19 age group, and even this proportion has fallen in recent years as higher educational standards have been demanded before entry to apprenticeship.

3.4 Females comprise about 41 per cent of students in TAFE vocational and preparatory courses and 71 per cent of adult education students. There are some wide variations, however, between particular streams. In Streams 4 (Other Skilled) and 5 (Preparatory), for example, females represent about 57 per cent of the total student population; in trade courses (Stream 3), by contrast, women make up only about 7 per cent of TAFE enrolments. These marked differences in female representation across the various streams of TAFE derive largely from corresponding imbalances in the labour market and society generally: in most trade courses, for example, TAFE itself is not responsible for the selection of its students but rather is required to provide training for all students referred to it by employers and apprenticeship authorities.

3.5 While there has been a major growth in the number of full-time enrolments in TAFE - from 25,000 in 1973 to more than 60,000 in 1982 - part-time students still account for more than 90 per cent of the total student population. As discussed in Chapter 2, this high level of part-time participation in TAFE reflects the continuing strength of the TAFE/employment relationship, recent labour market conditions notwithstanding. It is important also to note the restrictive terms of the present definition of a 'full-time' student in TAFE (requiring a minimum of 540 hours of annual class attendance) which effectively limit this description to those students enrolled in TAFE on a full-time basis throughout the year. Many other students, classified as part-time for statistical purposes, undertake shorter full-time programs lasting from a few weeks to several months.

3.6 Despite the predominance of adults within the total population of TAFE students, TAFE is a major educational destination for large numbers of young Australians. Table 3.2 relates the numbers of students enrolled in TAFE vocational and preparatory courses at each age in the 15-24 age-range to the size of the total population of corresponding age. Male participation in TAFE peaks at age 18, where nearly 36 per cent of the male population are enrolled in TAFE, mainly on a part-time basis in conjunction with employment. Female participation peaks at a much lower but still significant level - about 20 per cent at age 16, falling to 17 per cent at ages 17 and 18. Although the number of full-time TAFE students is roughly equal for males and females (about 30,000 for each sex), there is a wide gap in part-time participation, reflecting mainly the very limited access of young females to TAFE opportunities via the apprenticeship

TABLE 3.2

YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN TAFE VOCATIONAL AND PREPARATORY COURSES, BY AGE, SEX AND TYPE OF STUDY - AUSTRALIA, 1982
(percentages of corresponding population)

Age	Full-time participation			Part-time participation			Total participation		
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
15(a)	0.5	0.4	0.5	9.3	9.5	9.4	9.8	9.9	9.9
16(a)	3.8	5.3	4.5	22.3	15.0	18.7	26.1	20.3	23.2
17	5.0	5.4	5.2	27.2	11.5	19.5	32.2	16.9	24.7
18	4.1	4.1	4.1	31.8	13.1	22.6	35.9	17.2	26.7
19	2.8	2.3	2.5	26.6	11.1	19.1	29.4	13.4	21.6
20	1.6	1.1	1.4	19.4	9.3	14.4	21.0	10.4	15.8
21	0.9	0.7	0.8	14.0	8.2	11.1	14.9	8.9	11.9
22	0.7	0.5	0.6	11.4	7.2	9.3	12.1	7.7	9.9
23	0.6	0.4	0.5	10.0	6.9	8.4	10.6	7.3	8.9
24	0.4	0.3	0.4	9.3	6.4	7.8	9.7	6.7	8.2
15-19	3.3	3.6	3.4	23.5	11.9	17.8	26.8	15.5	21.2
20-24	0.8	0.6	0.7	12.9	7.6	10.3	13.7	8.2	11.0

(a) Estimated.

system. The part-time participation rate for males in the 15-19 age group is nearly twice that for females in the same group, and is still 70 per cent greater for the 20-24 age group.

3.7 The significance of TAFE within the total system of Australian tertiary education is well demonstrated by a comparison of participation rates across the three tertiary sectors (Table 3.3). Making allowance for the relatively greater significance of part-time study in TAFE, it is nonetheless striking that at every age within the 15-24 age-group the proportion of the population undertaking TAFE vocational and preparatory courses exceeds the combined proportions studying at universities and colleges of advanced education. In the 17-19 age-group, for example, more than 24 per cent of the population were enrolled in TAFE in 1982 (32.5 per cent of males and 15.8 per cent of females) compared with about 5 per cent each in the university and advanced education sectors. Among 20-24 year-olds 11 per cent of the population were participants in TAFE (13.7 per cent of males and 8.2 per cent of females) compared with 8.6 per cent who were enrolled in higher education institutions.

3.8 TAFE is not only the largest sector of Australian tertiary education in the size of its student population but also the most broadly representative of Australian society in general. The Study of Youth in Transition conducted by the Australian Council for Educational Research provides a guide to differences in the socio-economic background of students enrolled at various levels of education (Table 3.4). On the evidence of this study a young person whose father holds professional employment is twice as likely to undertake higher education, and three times as likely to enter university, as the son or daughter of a shop assistant or labourer. In TAFE, by contrast, participation is strikingly uniform with respect to socio-economic status; TAFE draws its students from all social groups in proportion broadly consistent with their representation in total society. Likewise, TAFE caters for young people at all levels of the school achievement spectrum: those young people who made up the lower half of school students on a measure of school achievement at age 14 accounted subsequently for 11 per cent of university students and 21 per cent of advanced education students but for 45 per cent of all participants in TAFE.

LOAD AND RESOURCES

3.9 Because of the wide variations in TAFE course lengths and student attendance patterns a standard measure is needed which indicates the relative demands imposed by different categories of student enrolment in TAFE. The student contact hour is the measure used for this purpose. TAFE students generated a total of more than 177 million student contact

TABLE 3.3

YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN TERTIARY EDUCATION, BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATIONAL SECTOR - AUSTRALIA, 1982
(percentages of corresponding population)

Age	Males				Females				Persons			
	TAFE(a)	Advanced education	University	Total	TAFE(a)	Advanced education	University	Total	TAFE(a)	Advanced education	University	Total
15	9.8(b)	-	-	9.8	9.9(b)	-	-	9.9	9.9(b)	-	-	9.9
16	26.1(b)	0.1	0.1	26.3	20.3(b)	0.1	0.1	20.5	23.2(b)	0.1	0.1	23.4
17	32.2	1.8	2.2	36.2	16.9	2.5	2.2	21.6	24.7	2.2	2.2	29.1
18	35.9	4.6	5.7	46.2	17.2	6.3	5.1	28.6	26.7	5.4	5.4	37.5
19	29.4	5.9	7.3	42.6	13.4	7.6	6.1	27.1	21.6	6.7	6.7	35.0
20	21.0	5.7	7.4	34.1	10.4	6.7	5.8	22.9	15.8	6.2	6.6	28.6
21	14.9	4.9	6.6	26.4	8.9	4.9	4.7	18.5	11.9	4.9	5.7	22.5
22	12.1	4.1	5.3	21.5	7.7	3.2	3.5	14.4	9.9	3.7	4.4	18.0
23	10.6	3.5	4.1	18.2	7.3	2.5	2.5	12.3	8.9	3.0	3.3	15.2
24	9.7	3.2	3.2	16.1	6.7	2.3	1.9	10.9	8.2	2.7	2.5	13.4
17-19	32.5	4.2	5.2	41.9	15.8	5.5	4.5	25.8	24.3	4.8	4.8	33.9
20-24	13.7	4.3	5.3	23.3	8.2	4.0	3.7	15.9	11.0	4.1	4.5	19.6

(a) Vocational and preparatory courses only (Streams 1-5).
(b) Estimated.

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After a detailed analysis of projections for the triennium, the chapter concludes:

3.32 In summary, the Council believes that a reasonable projection of TAFE development to the end of the next triennium would see growth in full-time student numbers from about 70,000 in 1983 to more than 95,000 in 1987, an increase of about 65,000 in part-time enrolments (Streams 1-5) to a level of about 773,000 by 1987, and relatively modest growth, to a level of about 320,000 by the end of the triennium, in Stream 6 enrolments. The same projection would imply an increase in annual student contact hours in TAFE of about 25.6 million over the projection period - equivalent to the load imposed by about 35,000 full-year, full-time students - and growth in the total level of recurrent spending on TAFE from an estimated $798.8m in 1983 to $920.6m in 1987, an average increase of about 3.6 per cent annually in real terms. By comparison with the aggregate of the 'preferred' projections of State TAFE authorities this 'intermediate' projection results in a slightly higher level of full-time student numbers by 1987, a markedly slower rate of growth of part-time enrolments generally, and apprenticeship (Stream 3a) enrolments in particular, relatively slower growth also in enrolments in non-vocational (Stream 6) courses, and a more conservative estimate - between about 2.6 per cent and 4.6 per cent annually, depending on the cost assumption used - of the average real growth in TAFE recurrent expenditure budgets. Part of the latter difference may be attributed to the relatively stronger growth implied by the States' projections in those areas of course provision, and particularly trade courses, which are most expensive in their demands on TAFE teaching resources.

3.33 The Council restates, finally, the significant role which it expects TAFE institutions to play in progress towards the national goal of increased youth participation in full-time education. Even on the moderate assumptions of Council's 'intermediate' projection there would be an increase of more than 25,000 in the number of students enrolled full-time in TAFE throughout the calendar year, as well as substantial additional enrolments in shorter full-time courses of the type to be further supported under the new Participation and Equity Program. The share of student load represented by full-time students would rise from 31.7 per cent in 1982 to 38.4 per cent by 1987, and as previously noted, there would be important implications also for TAFE planning, staffing, building and development policies in the next triennium and beyond. In later chapters of this Advice the Council considers how Commonwealth financial assistance for TAFE might best be used to assist in managing this major shift in the balance of TAFE activity.

AUSTRALIA. MINISTER FOR EDUCATION AND YOUTH AFFAIRS. SENATOR THE HON. SUSAN RYAN

Guidelines to the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission for the 1985-1987 Triennium. Canberra: Department of Education and Youth Affairs, July 1984 [13p.]

These Guidelines set out the Government's plans for tertiary education in the next three years. They are framed against a background of significant unmet student demand for tertiary places as well as the potential for further growth in demand arising from technological and economic developments, increasing school retention rates and the need to improve equity of access. At the same time, economic circumstances impose severe constraints on expenditure. Nevertheless, additional resources are now being devoted to tertiary education to ensure that what has been achieved in 1984 in the direction of increased participation and equity is consolidated in the triennium 1985-87. To meet both economic and educational objectives, 1985 is to be regarded as a year of steady growth and consolidation as well as an opportunity to investigate further, before 1986-87, more effective ways of pursuing the aims of participation and equity in tertiary education. The CTEC is asked, for example, to report on alternative means of increasing participation by more intensive use of resources and of expanding income by involvement of the private sector in funding research.

The Guidelines go on to discuss the implications for higher education of policies of participation and equity, endorsing the CTEC recommendation that enrolment growth should be steady and sustained and directed to areas of greatest need, in particular to outer metropolitan and regional/State areas where participation is low. Priority of access must be given to young people and, while maintaining quality of graduates, better access must be provided by institutions for applicants from less favoured school and home backgrounds, particularly in faculties such as medicine and law. On this basis, the Guidelines endorse and support many of the recommendations made by CTEC in areas such as participation in outer metropolitan and regional areas, Aboriginal participation, student residences, child care services and equity in higher education.

TAFE, as the sector of tertiary education of greatest diversity and mass appeal, is of particular relevance to Government policies. The Guidelines note the projections for further strong growth in enrolments, resulting in an extra 15,000 full-time places in TAFE courses by 1987. These, together with the extra 15,000 higher education places which will be available in 1987 will provide tertiary education for 30,000 more young people by 1987. The Guidelines detail decisions on recurrent, equipment and capital grants for 1985. In the Participation and Equity Program (PEP), the Government expects that 1985 will be used for further investigation of ways of meeting objectives more effectively. Consideration should be given to the longer term role of PEP in the TAFE sector and the need for changes in mainstream PEP courses; to opportunities for co-operation between TAFE and schools; to opportunities for providing further education and training for young people who first enter TAFE through PEP and similar courses; to the TAFE role in labour market programs and in developing new combinations of training, education and work; to the appropriate role and relationships of community and non-institutional groups in PEP.

The Guidelines also request the CTEC to report on options for

organisational changes to the present complex structures of CTEC and on arrangements for co-ordination and consultation with States and institutions so as to reduce the costs and complexities of existing arrangements. The Commission is asked to submit its report on the distribution of 1985 funds by 15 September.

SUMMARY OF FUNDING FOR 1985

The following table summarises the Government's funding decisions for 1985.

Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission
Programs for the 1985-87 Triennium
Summary of Funding for 1985

($ million — estimated December 1983 prices)

	1984	1985	Increase	
	$m	$m	$m	%
Universities and Colleges				
Recurrent	1802.2	1842.95	40.75	2.3
Equipment	81.5	84.0	2.5	3.1
Capital	53.8	64.8	11.0	20.4
Total	1937.5	1991.75	54.25	2.8
TAFE				
Recurrent				
— General	80.1	82.0	1.9	2.4
— Designated Purpose	32.9	35.9	3.0	9.1
Participation and Equity Program	30.0	34.0	4.0	13.3
Equipment	12.2	14.2	2.0	16.4
Capital	132.9	132.9	—	—
Total	288.1	299.0	10.9	3.8
Total Tertiary[a]	2226.0	2291.15	65.15	2.9

[a] Includes $0.4m in both years for evaluative studies.

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. AUSTRALIA. COMMONWEALTH TERTIARY EDUCATION COMMISSION. TECHNICAL AND FURTHER EDUCATION COUNCIL

Participation and Equity Program. TAFE Guidelines for 1985. Draft Paper. Canberra: TAFEC, August 1984 [15p.: mimeo]

This draft paper, circulated for comment during August, sets out the directions and objectives of TAFE in its implementation of the Participation and Equity Program (PEP). It begins with a resumé of PEP scope and objectives, of the TAFE Council's response to the Program in October 1983 (see 84/AB:41) and of its Advice for the 1985-87 Triennium early in January 1984 (see preceding excerpts in this issue). In April 1984 a meeting of State and Territory PEP officers convened by the Council identified issues of relevance to PEP in 1985. These included the importance of the relationship between PEP and other TAFE courses and labour market programs; the need for clearer definitions of terms such as participation, equity, disadvantage; the role of the CES and the provision of allowances; a youth policy framework for PEP.

These developments and discussions formed the basis for the objectives and directions of the program set out in the paper. The Council affirms its support for the objectives of the PEP Program to provide full secondary education or the TAFE equivalent to all young people, showing particular concern for 15-24 year olds and disadvantaged groups such as Aborigines, early school leavers, women and girls, ethnic minority groups,, rural youth and the disabled. These objectives of the PEP should apply to TAFE as a whole and not be confined to PEP. The group to be catered for is very large, as the paper points out:

> ... there were (in November 1983) 297,000 unemployed 15-24 year olds. There are another 40,000-50,000 15-19 year olds who appear to have "dropped out", being neither in education nor the labour force. Whilst not all of these people will want or be best provided for in TAFE courses it can be expected that only a small proportion could be accommodated in courses funded under PEP. In 1983, some 17,000 young 15-19 year olds were accommodated in the Transition Program; a similar number is expected in PEP in 1984 with a slight increase in 1985.
>
> Thus the Council concludes that the funds available for PEP in TAFE will be best used if applied to two main purposes:
>
> a) Funding courses for the **most** disadvantaged groups, these to include both vocational courses and access or bridging courses
> b) Undertaking the "searching re-examination in TAFE of its role in this area" as sought by the Government, with a view to increasing the suitability of "mainstream' TAFE for the target group.
>
> The first will ensure that special measures are taken to provide PEP course places for a limited number of the most deserving young people. The second will give attention to the needs of the broader target group. What must be determined is the **criteria** for identifying those who should be accommodated in PEP courses, and the **balance** in the Program between course funding and broader developmental tasks in TAFE.(p.4)

The paper goes on to detail the implications of these broad aims in three sets of objectives: PEP courses which will improve employment prospects for the participants by enabling them to develop general and specific vocational skills, to assess their options realistically and to cope with uncertainty and change; action to increase the participation of disadvantaged groups in mainstream courses; action to extend the consultative process with community and government organisations, to establish closer links with schools, to develop appropriate accreditation and assessment procedures which will ensure recognition of achievement and counselling advisory and support services for target groups.

The Council lists long-term unemployment, early school leaving and lack of post-school education and training as general characteristics to identify target groups and suggests ways of meeting the variety of needs. It emphasises also the fact that groups are not homogeneous and that PEP in TAFE must seek to respond to the needs of individuals.

Two main kinds of courses are seen as being appropriate under the Program: bridging courses designed to give access to regular TAFE courses; vocational, designed to enhance employment prospects but also to lead to **opportunities** for further education and training. Five elements are identified as essential components of PEP courses: basic skills acquisition; vocational orientation; specific vocational skills acquisition; work experience; personal development. Each of these is discussed and the paper goes on to deal with associated issues: course recognition and student progression; courses involving TAFE and schools; support services; counselling and guidance; staff development; curriculum development; evaluation and research.

The paper goes on to deal with the need for TAFE to develop liaison and co-operation with the community, particularly those organisations which have been concerned with the needs of disadvantaged groups. Further sections discuss the relationship of PEP with other special TAFE programs; the need for close collaboration between education and employment authorities and particularly between TAFE and the CES; the Transition Allowance as the principal system of support for PEP students.

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. AUSTRALIA. MINISTER FOR EDUCATION AND YOUTH AFFAIRS

Commonwealth Schools Commission. Guidelines 1985-87. Canberra: Department of Education and Youth Affairs, 14 August 1984 [18p.: mimeo]

These Guidelines set out Government policies for education in the next triennium, and incorporate the Government's response to the Schools Commission's report, Funding Policies for Australian Schools (84/AB:46). The paper focuses particularly on a new approach to the recurrent funding of both government and non-government schools based on 'a community standard of educational resources' (explained in 84/AB:46). It sets out basic principles and objectives, including government responsibility for the education of all Australian children; a primary obligation for government schooling and the need to ensure adequate education in non-government schools as well; the concern to achieve equality of opportunity and improved outcomes in education and to ensure quality in education.

The community standard offers a broad educational base for the Government's funding policies and will be implemented over the period from 1985 to 1992, with a review of progress in 1988. The policy also requires the Schools Commission to develop effective reporting and public accountability procedures for all schools. The paper goes on to detail the financial allocations and provisions for government schools and for non-government schools, including new non-government schools, under these new arrangements.

As a complement to the Participation and Equity Program introduced in 1983, these Guidelines initiate a program for primary schools to provide extra assistance for children in their basic learning, with the objective of raising the minimum competencies achieved during primary schooling. Emphasis in this program will be given to the acquisition of language skills and numeracy in the early primary school years, particularly among children who have special difficulties in acquiring such skills. The Schools Commission is asked to report with detailed recommendations for the implementation of this program.

The Government will assume responsibility for the Special Education early intervention services previously administered by the Office of Child Care. The Guidelines also announce the establishment of a Quality of Education Review Committee to be headed by Professor Peter Karmel (see **QUIDNUNC** in this issue). The report of this Committee and of the Commission's Review of Special Purpose Programs will provide the basis for further consideration of programs and directions.

Overall, most programs will be continued in 1985 and funding maintained in real terms; funding will also be earmarked for Projects of National Significance as recommended by the Schools Commission.

The attached Table sets out the financial allocations.

COMMONWEALTH SCHOOLS COMMISSION PROGRAMS
($'000)
(est. December 1983 prices)

	1984	1985
Government Schools		
General Recurrent	317,389	335,600
Primary Basic Learning	..	5,300
Participation and Equity	39,872	39,872
Computer Education	5,016	5,016
English as a Second language		
- General	40,556	40,556
- New Arrivals	9,632	9,632
Disadvantaged Schools	28,689	28,689
Special Education		
- General	19,594	19,594
- Integration	1,355	1,355
Capital	159,099	159,099
Total	621,202	644,713
Non-Government Schools		
General Recurrent	600,200	610,800
Primary Basic Learning	..	1,400
Participation and Equity	4,671	4,671
Computer Education	1,254	1,254
Emergency Assistance	614	614
English as a Second language		
- General	17,154	17,154
- New Arrivals	1,049	1,049
Disadvantaged Schools	5,572	5,572
Special Education		
- General	5,010	5,010
- Integration	389	389
Capital	55,093	55,093
Total	691,006	703,006
Joint Programs		
Participation and Equity	511	511
Multicultural Education	4,752	4,752
Ethnic Schools	3,975	3,975
Country Areas	9,770	9,770
Residential Institutions	2,186	2,186
Severely Handicapped	3,571	3,571
Professional Development	10,795	10,795
Education Centres	2,286	2,286
Projects of National Significance	1,737	1,737
Total	39,583	39,583
ALL PROGRAMS	1,351,791	1,387,302

BOOK REVIEW

VICTORIA. MINISTER OF EDUCATION. Ministerial Review of Post-Compulsory Schooling: Discussion Paper. Issued by the Minister of Education for public information and discussion. Melbourne, Victoria: The Ministerial Review of Post-Compulsory Schooling, April 1984 [66p.] (Abstract 84/AB: 190)

*by Richard Campbell**

The last two years have seen a marked increase in the number of Australians enrolling in educational institutions beyond the compulsory years. In the same period the rhetoric of the politicians about education has also changed. Once again it is important and 'a good thing'. Whether these two changes are causally linked (and if so, which way) is an interesting academic question; howbeit, once again fundamental questions about the purpose and adequacy of existing educational provisions are being raised in the public domain. If the mean-minded power plays so evident on both sides of the State Aid debate do not yet again divert the attention and energies of those who care about educational issues, we just might manage this time to engage in rational discussion about what needs to be done and how best to do it.

This Discussion Paper is a case in point. It is presented as the first stage of a Ministerial review of post-compulsory schooling in Victoria. It

> ... attempts in broad terms to sum up where we are now in the provision of educational services for fifteen to nineteen-year-olds who are not in higher education or in training associated with concurrent employment within TAFE and suggests broad lines of development arising out of this analysis and evolving from the provisions we now have.

After an introductory chapter, it discusses the levels of participation in Years 11 and 12 at schools and in TAFE, canvasses the appropriateness of current curriculum patterns and the constraints imposed by credentialling arrangements, and then argues for major structural changes in the way formal education is organised into institutions. From this emerges the goal that all restructuring should move towards the provision of separate post-compulsory institutions which would:

- be open to all young people in the area
- have facilities and staffing to promote excellence in all fields

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- offer common cultural studies and a much broader range of curricular specialisms than those currently available in either school or TAFE
- encourage subject sampling, movement across curricular tracks and combinations of work, study and community service
- offer counselling, remediation and bridging studies to assist student transfer to alternative programs
- allow the flexible accumulation over time of unit credits for credentials, the repeating of units rather than full-year courses and the option of part-time and off-campus attendance made possible by new information processes. The need for external assessment and external moderation of courses would also be reduced in large institutions
- bring together larger numbers of teachers sharing a common specialism, thereby providing the basis for curricular renewal within the institution (5.20).

It is worth noting that fifteen years ago the Victorian Department of Education proposed that post-compulsory schooling in the Broadmeadows area of Melbourne should be gathered into a separate institution; the idea was killed off by reactionary opposition from the Victorian Secondary Teachers Association.

Given the long time the ideas have been around and the precedents elsewhere, the discussion paper has curiously a somewhat breathless quality. For example, the opening sentence trumpets: 'Victoria is now at a turning point in its educational provision for those who have reached the end of compulsory schooling' (1.1). Yet to those who were involved in reviewing precisely these same issues in the context of the Australian Capital Territory as far back as 1972 there is an inescapable sense of déja vu. To be fair, retention rates to Year 12 in Canberra schools had reached nearly 70 per cent already twelve years ago (and now are even higher) whereas in Victoria the retention rate to Year 11 of 72 per cent in 1982 jumped to 79 per cent in 1983. (Because technical high schools in that State end at Year 11, retention rates to Year 12 are misleading.) Despite the favourite Australian game of Canberra-bashing, the data cited in this paper strengthen the view I first formed twelve years ago that Canberra is socially and educationally a foretaste of where, in general terms, the rest of Australian society is heading. That being so, it is striking (though perhaps politically explicable) that there is but one passing reference to the secondary colleges which have catered to Canberra's post-compulsory school population since 1976.

That we need to increase the proportion of those in the 15-19 age range attending educational institutions has acquired something of the status of an axiom over the past two years. It underpins the Federal Government's much-vaunted Participation and Equity Program (although I must confess that despite my close involvement in administering a school system, I have yet to see a sharply-defined statement of the objectives of that program, or a carefully researched analysis of what measures are likely to be effective in achieving those objectives). The sceptical warnings of Ivan Illich and the romantics attracted to the 'de-schooling' movement of 15 years ago - that the increasing institutionalisation of education is dehumanising and alienating - have, it seems, all been forgotten.

The harsh reality, of course, is that it is cheaper for governments to keep kids in school than pay them the dole. The growth of McDonald's

and Kentucky Fried outlets have not compensated for the disappearance of so many jobs which early school leavers used to be able to get. Let there be no surprise that there is widespread alienation amongst those who see few options but to stay on at school - and not much hope beyond!

Up until the mid-1970s there was a linear correlation between the date of birth and the number of years of formal education had by an average Australian of that age. In the late 1970s it looked as if that straight line was flattening, but the recent increases in participation rates suggests that that might be proving to be illusory, that a significant number of people were merely delaying further education. We need to ask why such a simple and yet dramatic relationship between date of birth and amount of formal education should obtain. Although I am not a Marxist, the most likely hypothesis in this case does appear to be economic: changes in the means of production and the distribution of goods and services are radically altering the shape of the workforce and the levels of knowledge and skills required for effective functioning in the society. If that is right, then the currently fashionable rhetoric urging the virtues of increased participation is just so much rationalisation (in the pejorative sense) of a powerful economic force which is not being recognised as such.

While these musings do not lead me to different conclusions from those canvassed in the discusion paper, they do serve to put them in a somewhat different light. We need to understand **why** there is widespread dissatisfaction with staff/student relationships (mentioned in 5.15) and student alienation (alluded to in 5.17). We need sound research and hard thinking to determine what measures can indeed alleviate it so as to provide students both with what they are going to need (whether they like it or not) and with at least a little room constructively to resolve some of the crushing contradictions in which they find themselves. On these basic matters the paper is regrettably vague. Perhaps the authors judged that a public discussion paper was not the appropriate place to delve into such difficult issues and that people would be put off by scholarly footnotes. Perhaps that is so. Nevertheless, if such matters are not placed before the public how can a well-informed debate be generated? My experience has been that people do find well-constructed arguments more persuasive than the kind of discursive descriptions listing advantages and disadvantages so often produced by public officials. This paper is one of the better examples of the latter kind, but it could have been deeper in its analyses and tighter in its argumentation.

The evidence from splitting the former six-year Wyndham comprehensive high schools in Canberra into four-year high schools and two-year secondary colleges, together with abolishing the external public HSC examination and devolving responsibility for educational policies to parent-teacher-student boards at the local level, is indeed encouraging. Anderson et al. in Schools to Grow In (1980) have documented how successful those changes have proved to be for those in Years 11 and 12. However, that research and the more recent Steinle Report The Challenge of Change have drawn attention to the fact that Canberra's 7-10 high schools have still a long way to go. The split has not made them worse than they were - not that that is much consolation. But had this discussion paper paid more attention to the Canberra experience, it would not have remained virtually silent on the question of the effect on the 7-10 high school which would result from the establishment of separate post-compulsory institutions. That issue must be addressed quite explicitly as this review continues.

It is now clear that, although the 1972 Working Committee on College Proposals for the ACT did not ignore this issue as this discussion paper does, the implementation of the college split in the ACT failed to recognise sufficiently that the resulting 7-10 high schools were as much new institutions as were the secondary colleges. It was too easy for them to be regarded simply as decapitated Wyndham high schools. In particular, there was not as much effort put into redefining their educational function and role and consequently their curricular objectives. Further, while the secondary colleges had especially selected staff, in the interests of stability there was not a spill of all high school staff. I now believe that that was a serious mistake, a mistake that I urge the Victorians not to repeat if the suggestions of this paper are ever implemented.

Implementation in Victoria will, of course, be much more difficult than in a small and relatively homogeneous population like that of Canberra. Not only are its existing structures so much more firmly entrenched; an Australian State has a much more complex structure, with a large rural hinterland. This is acknowledged but not considered at any depth in para. 5.22, in the comment that 'the social advantages of remaining in schools in rural areas could outweigh the educational benefits of attending larger and more comprehensive institutions'. Again, in Victoria any restructuring is further complicated by the retention until now of technical high schools, which the paper sees as framing a concept of general education which excludes the history and experience of significant sections of the population and separates theory from practice and from its applications (3.14). Clearly, any restructuring of the post-compulsory years will have to face squarely the technical/high split as it applies in Years 7-10.

If, concurrent with a separation of the post-compulsory years, there is a restructuring of the junior secondary years into fully comprehensive high schools, careful attention will need to be given to the likely public reaction so far as it might impact upon the government/non-government schools distinction. Here, unfortunately, the renewal of the State Aid debate becomes relevant. As the Anderson Committee on Radford College (a new Anglican high school in Canberra) pointed out in its report Schools for the ACT: How Public? How Private? (1983), whereas up to the early 1970s, the State Aid debate centred around religious issues, the funding controversy is now a mixture of different issues. Without entering into that controversy here, it is relevant to observe that, whereas a decade ago there was no pressure to revive the academically selective high school, one of the sources of pressure nowadays comes from those parents who look to certain 'assisted schools' (as I believe they should be labelled) to provide just that kind of school environment formerly offered in selective high schools.

Even if that issue could be set aside (which I doubt), the question needs to be explored here more thoroughly than this paper does whether the current administratively messy provision of a number of different educational pathways is such a bad thing. The twin dangers of sameness in institutions encouraging mediocrity (a danger always so imminent in Australia) and of eliminating genuine alternatives for those 'switched off' by one kind of institution need to be guarded against.

This brings me to an issue on which the paper seems to me to be systematically unclear. Throughout it tends to speak of TAFE as if the eduvcational provisions made under that head were homogeneous. Yet ever

since the 'F' for Further was added in the early 1970s to the previous Technical title, there has been a pervasive lack of conceptual clarity in Australia as to what exactly Technical and Further Education is. Following the Kangan Report of 1974 there was an attempt to sort that out in terms of six streams. Yet this paper does not use the six-stream classification to describe just which of the current TAFE provisions it sees the proposed post-compulsory institutions incorporating. Certainly, some of those streams are quite differently oriented than are Years 11-12 and are increasingly becoming post-Year 12; that is a development affecting even apprenticeship training. Here is another area which subsequent development of the ideas needs to clarify.

It is proposed that the 'broad lines' indicated in this paper should now be explored further by three working parties: on curriculum, on credentials, and on organisational changes. They will have much to do if the suggestions in this paper are to be rendered precise. The discussion in Chapter 3 on Curricular Issues is very woolly, although it must be said that that seems to be true of a great deal of discussion in Australia on curricular issues, not least in the ACT Schools Authority. Here, I suspect that we are all suffering from the relative isolation of faculties of Education (so often quite formally in CAEs) from critical and constructive debate with philosophers, historians, psychologists, sociologists, etc. (I hasten to add that I see the blame for that falling on both sides as well as on the institutional divisions.) The crucial section (3.12-15) calling for 'a new concept of general education' in fact fails to spell out any such concept; its force is almost entirely negative, alleging what 'general education' should **not** be taken to be.

Similarly, Chapter 4 on Credentialling Issues canvasses well the complexity of the prevailing provisions in Victoria and the difficulties involved, but is inconclusive on what would more appropriately replace them. Part of the problem here is that nowadays the 'fiddling' of the marks which has always been a feature of public examinations like the Higher School Certificate is becoming more widely known and the mystique once surrounding such credentialling procedures is being dispelled. In the ACT we have been able to replace the public examination with a system of accreditation, moderated by the Australian Scholastic Aptitude Test (ASAT), which has proved equally effective in predicting likely success at university studies. But public controversy persists, partly because ASAT results have been showing significant sex differences which a recent Australian Council for Educational Research report has not, to my mind, satisfactorily explained, and partly because of widespread disquiet about the level of attainment by students of expected 'standards' of knowledge and expertise. On this last point, the paper sharply delineates the confusions arising from attempts to mix 'norm-references' and 'criterion-referenced' testing. That is, if what our institutions of higher education require is a rank listing, that can be provided, albeit in a pretty rough and ready way. But university professors, for example, should not then complain as they do that they cannot presume an agreed standard of knowledge. There is much to be said in favour of schools being able to certify that a student has attained this and that level of knowledge or skills, but that is a pass/fail matter and will not yield a ranking. Here the educational administrators are trying to cope with a confusion of objectives which pervades the whole educational system and the social requirements it is trying to meet.

Finally, although not in criticism of the paper, may I plead for some consideration of where the graduates of this level of educational provisions are to go next. We can keep them off the streets and in school

for a bit longer, but the problems of structural unemployment are only staved off thereby, not solved. And it is no good for governments to encourage students to prepare in larger numbers for higher education unless it is then made possible for them to pursue higher education. Here government rhetoric is in grave danger of providing material for the prosecution of the government, rather than its defence.

One thing is certain: debates about the purpose and adequacy of existing educational provisions will become more turbulent rather than less as this decade wears on. Those of us who really care will have to work increasingly hard to keep the discussion on rational grounds, to prevent it being manipulated by those serving their own self-interests. The issues raised by this paper are so important that the latter must not be allowed to happen.

YOUTH STUDIES: THE RESEARCH

LABOUR MARKETS AND YOUNG PEOPLE

Part 4

Preface

. THE YOUTH LABOUR MARKET: UNEMPLOYMENT

A Summary of the Research

by C. Blakers

. NEITHER LEARNING NOR EARNING: THE PUBLISHED INFORMATION

by Moira Rowland

August 1984

PREFACE

The patterns of teenage participation in the labour force have already been discussed in this series (Youth Studies Bulletin, February 1984, p.48-72). It is clear that teenagers are one of the groups most affected by the economic recession, by industrial and occupational change, by the decline in full-time employment and the growth in casual part-time employment. They have also been among those most affected by rising levels of unemployment. The summary of research which follows attempts to put together the information which has come to the Clearinghouse on how far the rising levels of unemployment have been reflected in teenage rates of unemployment and in the withdrawal of teenagers from the labour market. The final paper in this series on the youth labour market, in November, will look at the impact of unemployment on teenagers in terms of their physical and psychological wellbeing.

In this section also, Moira Rowland follows up her discussion of the sources of statistics on youth unemployment in the May 1984 Bulletin. She identifies some of the difficulties inherent in reconciling statistics on education participation and labour force participation and in deriving adequate information about those who are Neither Learning nor Earning.

Time only knows the price we have to pay.

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

Employed or Unemployed?

Many writers and researchers during the last few years have expressed dissatisfaction with statistics of employment and unemployment based on the long-standing definitions used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) to distinguish the employed from the unemployed and estimate numbers in these categories. According to ABS definitions, set out in The Labour Force, Australia, May 1982 (Cat. No. 6203.0):

> Employed persons comprise all those aged 15 and over who, during the survey week:
>
> a) worked for one hour or more for pay, profit, commission or payment in kind in a job or business, or on a farm (including employees, employers and self-employed persons); or
> b) worked for 15 hours or more without pay in a family business or on a farm (i.e. unpaid family helpers); or
> c) were employees who had a job but were not at work and were: on paid leave; on leave without pay for less than four weeks up to the end of the survey week; stood down without pay because of bad weather or plant breakdown at their place of employment for less than four weeks up to the end of the survey week; on strike or locked out; on workers' compensation and expected to be returning to their job; or receiving wages or salary while undertaking full-time study; or
> d) were employers or self-employed persons who had a job, business or farm, but were not at work.
>
> Unemployed persons are those aged 15 and over who were not employed during the survey week, and
>
> a) had actively looked for full-time or part-time work at any time in the four weeks up to the end of the survey week; and
> (i) were available for work in the survey week, or would have been available except for temporary illness (i.e. lasting for less than four weeks to the end of the survey week); or
> (ii) were waiting to start a new job within four weeks from the end of the survey week and would have started in the survey week if the job had been available then; or
> b) were waiting to be called back to a full-time or part-time job from which they had been stood down without pay for less than four weeks up to the end of the survey week (including the whole of the survey week) for reasons other than bad weather or plant breakdown. (p.1)

In brief, one hour's work during the survey week or 15 hours unpaid work in a family business or on a farm classify a person as 'employed'. To be classified as 'unemployed', a person must have been **actively** seeking full or part-time work. In their 1981 analysis of hidden unemployment, Stricker and Sheehan (A41) commented that the ABS definition

of unemployment 'captures only one of the many dimensions of unemployment. In addition to the recorded unemployed many of those who are nominally employed may be **underemployed** in various ways, and many of those who are not in the labour force at a given point of time may in fact be **hidden unemployed**, who are not looking for work only because they believe there is no work to be found' (p.2).

A recent BLMR Working Paper (McMahon and Robinson 84/AB:149), analysing the appropriateness of concepts, definitions and measures of unemployment, concludes that the current measures remain appropriate for some uses, and it is particularly important that they be retained for the purpose of having an historically consistent series. However, it is not appropriate in current labour markets to rely on a single measure of unemployment and of the labour force to gauge many different aspects of labour market conditions. While the classification of labour force status had been straightforward for most of the post-war era, it has again become a problem in a world plagued by substantial unemployment. It should be recognised that the apparently straightforward term unemployment is replete with ambiguities. Furthermore, the official labour force approach to measurement, while well defined, contains highly subjective assessments of who is and who is not in the labour force (p.89).

Among other writers making similar comments have been Sweet (83/AB: 18), Gruen (A48), Chapman and Gruen (84/AB:151) and Rowland (Youth Studies Bulletin, Vol.2, No.2, May 1984, p.64-69). The ABS has in recent years been extending its coverage of various aspects of the labour market, as the listing given by Moira Rowland in the Youth Studies Bulletin article mentioned above indicates, but there would be wide agreement with her concluding comment 'that it would at least help if the ABS, while maintaining their present definition for purposes of comparison would create a new definition according rather better with most people's perception of when a person counts as employed' (p.68).

Inappropriate definitions create particular problems for any meaningful description of the teenage labour market and for determining levels and rates of unemployment for teenagers, since it is in the 15-19 year old group that the complications of educational participation and labour force status are most apparent. Stricker and Sheehan (A41) point out 'that school and labour force involvements overlap to varying degrees at different times, as persons who are attending school full-time seek part-time work and as those who are working full-time attend educational institutions on a part-time basis' (p.179). Sweet has many times drawn attention to the need for information which will represent more accurately various combinations of education participation and labour force participation. In September 1982, he commented (83/AB:18):

> A major problem in estimating the extent of non-school hidden unemployment is that in its regular monthly labour force surveys the ABS does not distinguish, among teenagers who have left school, between post-secondary students and others. As a result it is normally not possible to disaggregate those who are students from the category "not in the labour force" or to distinguish between those whose only post-school role is a fringe part-time job and those who combine part-time work with the role of a full-time post-secondary student.
>
> This is an instance of a more general problem - the inadequacy of available information on the joint educational and labour force status of those who have left school. (p.9)

Moira Rowland takes up these questions of education and labour force participation in this issue of the Bulletin.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that many young people are statistically classified as being in full-time employment when they are in fact in part-time employment/training and part-time education. Praetz (83/AB:113) points out that:

> In other countries, students undertaking recognised combinations of study and on-the-job training are regarded as being full-time participants in education. In Australia, young people enrolled in courses which involve combining study and on-the-job training are generally regarded as being employed. This obscures the fact that they are involved in jobs which demand further study and training on a full-time basis. Apprentices, hospital-based nurses, police officers in training and recruits to the armed services all fall into this category. An accurate description of their activities necessitates their classification as participants in full-time education and training. (p.3).
> [See also Brewster et al., Youth Studies Bulletin, Vol.3, No.1, February 1984, p.35-36]

As the accompanying table shows, at least ten different categories are needed to describe the various combinations of education and employment status of teenagers. From currently published information it is not possible to estimate numbers and rates of participation in some of the categories. To estimate adequately the incidence of unemployment among teenagers, it would be necessary to know:

- How many in part-time employment in fact want full-time employment or at least more hours of work per day/week/year?
- How many in full-time education would prefer to be only in the labour force full-time or even part-time?
- How many young people working 15 hours or more without pay in a family business or on a farm (i.e. unpaid family helpers) and registered as 'employed' are there because they cannot find alternative employment?
- How many young people **not** registered in either education or the labour force are discouraged workers who have dropped out of official statistics because they have been unable to find employment?

With young people, as with adults, the numbers of under-employed and discouraged workers form the underside of the employment picture.

Further, teenagers are no more homogeneous as a group than are migrants or any other social category. They are differentiated by age, by sex and by other particular social characteristics so that overall unemployment levels and rates for teenagers (15-19 years) tell us little about the incidence of unemployment for one particular group as against another. For example, in their discussion of unemployment trends among migrants, the Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission (84/AB:156) emphasises

> ... the danger of using data for all overseas born as an indication of what is happening to specific migrant communities. Thus, although the overall rate for overseas born is close to that for Australian born, the rates for specific countries are quite varied.

TABLE 1

Teenagers' Participation: Education and the Labour Force

In school/education	In labour force	
full-time	not	full-time students
full-time	part-time	full-time students with part-time jobs after hours
full-time	unemployed	students looking for full or part-time work
part-time	full-time	employed persons studying in their own time after hours
part-time	unemployed	unemployed persons taking some courses while actively seeking work
part-time	part-time	this could include apprentices, nurses, etc. as well as those keeping themselves while studying
part-time	not	for a variety of reasons, not looking for work - could include some discouraged workers
not	full-time	persons with full-time jobs
not	unemployed	persons actively seeking full or part-time work
not	not	including discouraged workers, unpaid family helpers and others

> Furthermore, the rate and direction of change varies between groups and the pattern in Victoria is not always the same as that for Australia. (p.6).
>
> [See also Inglis and Stromback 84/AB:123; Sweet, Youth Studies Bulletin, Vol.3, No.1, February 1984).

Similarly, overall figures for teenagers cannot indicate levels and rates of unemployment for females as distinct from males, for the disabled, for Aborigines. And within these groups, as for migrants, unemployment will affect different sub-groups differently depending on other factors such as school and family background, level of education attainment and area of residence. In other words, even within the group 'teenagers' the distribution of unemployment is uneven, some sub-groups bearing higher levels of unemployment than others.

Given the complexities of presenting a clear picture of teenage unemployment, the summary which follows is little more than an incomplete patchwork of information from a variety of analyses and sources.

TRENDS IN YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

Age, Sex and Unemployment

Trends in officially recorded youth unemployment are fairly straightforward. They show that levels of youth unemployment are higher than those for adults and are not a new phenomenon. As far back as 1954, in the halcyon days of full to over-full employment, the rate of unemployment for teenagers was 1.7 times the rate for adults. It is the dramatic rise in the numbers of unemployed since the mid-1970s which has focused attention on unemployment generally and on the plight of particularly affected groups such as young people. As the Bureau of Industry Economics commented in 1980 (Research Report No.3, Annotated Bibliography D5):

> An examination of Australian historical data reveals that one must go back to before the 1940s to find comparable levels of unemployment to those now experienced. In fact Figure 1.1 shows that the 1977-78 average unemployment rate of 6.2 per cent has been exceeded previously only in the years 1902-03 to 1905-06 and also 1928-29 to 1939-40. However, the number of persons represented by a given rate is now much higher. Whereas the 1903-04 peak of 9.4 per cent represented about 155,000 and the 1931-32 peak of 19.7 per cent about 512,000, the 1977-78 rate of 6.2 per cent involved almost 400,000 persons. (p.1)

Gruen (A48) comments that 'the spectacular four-fold increase in the recorded unemployment rate from mid-1974 when it was 1.5 per cent to the mid-1978 figure of 6 per cent has been unprecedented in Australia's post-war history' (p.11). The increases, he goes on to say, have brought Australia from being in the bottom third among OECD nations in terms of recorded unemployment rates into the top or worst third along with Spain, Italy and Canada.

In their most recent analysis of unemployment, Chapman and Gruen (84/AB:151) note that 'there have been four major recessions in Australia since World War II: early in the fifties and sixties, in the mid-seventies and most recently in 1982/83' (p.ii). They continue:

> It is worth noting that the severity of the different recessions, as measured either by the level of unemployment or by the change in the amount of unemployment, does not correspond to the severity of the recession as measured by the decline in employment. Peak unemployment in each of the four major recessions was higher than the peak of the previous major recession. Thus the 1950s recession peaked below 2 per cent unemployment; the 1960s recession below 2.75 per cent; the mid-seventies at almost 4.5 per cent, whilst the peak of the early 1930s recession exceeded 10 per cent. Again, the recessions of the fifties and sixties finished up - after twelve quarters - with slightly higher levels of unemployment than at the beginning of the recession.
>
> The most startling fact ... is the sheer size of the increases in unemployment in the seventies and early

> eighties of more than three percentage points and almost five percentage points respectively. It is not surprising that some have come to the conclusion that unemployment is increasing inexorably irrespective of governments and their policies. (p.7-8)

The unemployment has not been spread evenly over the whole community but has been concentrated particularly in some groups: young people, women, migrants, Aborigines and those with handicaps of one kind or another. Gregory (A72) points out that 'the unemployed come overwhelmingly from those who have not held a previous first-time job or have held a previous full-time job of very short duration' (p.33) - though this may be changing as more and more older workers in industries which are declining or affected by technology are retrenched.

Teenagers, and particularly female teenagers, have been among the groups most affected by changing patterns of employment and by rising unemployment. Table 2, cited from Chapman and Gruen (84/AB:151), shows that the rate of unemployment in the 15-19 age group has consistently been at least two or three times higher than the overall unemployment rate. Teenagers have also had a much higher rate of unemployment than persons in other age groups. The Table also shows that the rate of unemployment declines with age, though again a qualification may have to be made for growing unemployment among workers aged 55 and over. The figures for May 1984 show the continuation of the trends (Table 3), indicating an unemployment rate of 20.5 for teenagers, 13.3 per cent for persons aged 20-24 years and 8.9 per cent overall. The decline in the unemployment rate year by year from age 15 to age 24 is also shown in Table 3: a decline from 28.1 per cent for 15 year-olds to 11.8 per cent for those aged 24 years.

Tables 2 and 3 also show differences in unemployment rates for males and females. Until 1982, unemployment rates for females in the 15-19 age group were consistently higher than the rates for males; in 1983 they were equivalent. In 1984, the unemployment rate of female teenagers at 19.6 per cent has, for the first time, dropped below the male rate of 21.3 per cent. Similar trends can be seen in the 20-24 age group. It is a matter for speculation (and further investigation) how far these recent declines in female teenager rates of unemployment may be due to their greater involvement in part-time work, or to withdrawal from the workforce or to the fact that while 25.8 per cent of males 15-19 years attending school are classified as unemployed, only 17.8 per cent of females in the same category are classified as unemployed (see Table 3).

Education Attainment and Unemployment

Educational attainment has been an important factor influencing unemployment rates. Miller (B24), in an analysis of the influence of education and migration on unemployment rates (based on 1976 Census material), stated that 'school leaving age is the most important variable affecting teenage unemployment' (p.36). Gruen (A48) amplified Miller's statistical conclusions, indicating that 'the unemployment rate of 15-19 year males leaving school aged 17 years was 7.2 per cent; the unemployment rate of a group similar in all respects - except that they left school at 14 years - was 26 per cent' (p.13). Williams et al. reporting on their ongoing study of school students (Annotated Bibliography A25) estimated that:

TABLE 2

Unemployment Rates by Age and Sex*

Year	Males Age Group 15-19	20-24	25-34	35 and over	Total	Females Age Group 15-19	20-24	25-34	35 and over	Total	Persons Age Group 15-19	20-24	25-34	35 and over	Total
1966	2.5	1.4	0.8	1.0	1.1	4.0	2.8	2.6	2.0	2.6	3.2	1.9	1.2	1.2	1.6
1967	3.1	1.7	0.8	1.0	1.2	3.6	3.0	3.4	2.2	2.8	3.3	2.3	1.5	1.3	1.7
1968	2.9	1.3	0.8	0.7	1.0	3.9	2.6	3.5	2.1	2.8	3.4	1.8	1.5	1.1	1.6
1969	2.3	1.3	0.6	0.8	1.0	3.6	3.1	3.5	1.7	2.7	2.9	2.0	1.4	1.1	1.5
1970	2.9	1.3	0.8	0.7	1.0	3.6	2.0	2.2	2.0	2.3	3.2	1.6	1.2	0.9	1.4
1971	3.2	1.8	0.7	0.9	1.2	4.3	2.6	2.9	2.0	2.6	3.7	2.1	1.4	1.2	1.7
1972	5.6	2.6	1.5	1.4	2.0	5.5	3.8	4.1	2.5	3.6	5.8	3.1	2.3	1.7	2.5
1973	4.6	2.1	0.8	0.8	1.3	4.9	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.7	4.7	2.3	1.3	1.3	1.8
1974	5.0	2.9	1.3	1.1	1.7	6.7	3.6	3.5	2.4	3.5	5.8	3.2	2.0	1.5	2.4
1975	10.8	5.2	2.4	2.3	3.5	15.1	6.9	5.5	3.7	6.5	12.9	5.9	3.4	2.8	4.6
1976	12.7	6.5	2.8	2.2	3.9	15.8	6.3	5.1	3.4	6.2	14.2	6.4	3.6	2.6	4.7
1977	15.8	7.2	3.2	2.7	4.7	20.3	8.0	5.3	3.5	7.4	18.0	7.6	3.9	2.9	5.7
1978	16.4	8.5	4.3	3.3	5.5	19.0	9.2	6.1	3.8	7.5	17.5	8.9	5.9	3.5	6.2
1979	15.8	8.6	3.8	2.5	4.6	20.6	9.1	6.8	3.7	7.7	18.1	8.8	4.9	2.9	5.8
1980	15.3	8.5	4.0	2.7	5.0	18.7	9.1	6.6	3.6	7.5	17.1	8.9	4.9	3.0	5.9
1981	13.6	7.7	3.9	2.8	4.7	17.9	8.8	6.3	3.6	7.1	15.6	8.2	4.8	3.1	5.6
1982	16.8	10.7	5.5	3.5	6.3	19.3	10.3	7.5	4.1	7.4	18.0	10.5	6.3	3.7	6.7
1983	23.3	16.8	8.5	6.1	9.9	23.3	12.5	9.7	5.5	9.9	23.3	14.8	8.9	5.9	9.9

* August figures

Source: Chapman and Gruen (84/AB:151), derived from ABS, The Labour Force, Cat. Nos. 6203.0, 6204.0

TABLE 3

Youth Unemployment Rates by Age and Sex:[a] May 1984

Age	Total			Not Attending School			Attending School		
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
15-19	21.3	19.6	20.5	20.6	20.1	20.3	25.8	17.8	21.3
20-24	14.3	12.0	13.3						
25+	8.6	9.4	8.9						
15	n.a.		28.1	n.a.		28.9	n.a.		27.7
16			22.8			25.6			18.5
17			21.1			22.6			*
18			20.1			20.1			*
19			16.3			16.3			*
20			16.0						
21			14.2						
22			11.8						
23			12.7						
24			11.8						

a. Comprising those 15-20 years enrolled full-time at secondary or high schools, and excluding persons in institutions such as hospitals

* Sampling variability too high

Source: ABS, The Labour Force Australia May 1984, Cat. No. 6203.0. Canberra: ABS, June 1984, Tables 7 and 8

> Each extra year of schooling completed increases one's likelihood of having attempted or having plans to undertake further education. Each additional year of schooling decreases by one month the time it takes to find a job after leaving school (-1.08), other things equal, decreases the probability of having ever been unemployed (-0.14), and decreases total unemployment by one and three-quarter months, on the average (-1.74). Each additional year spent in school is worth, ceteris paribus, 12 additional points of current occupational status and 10 points of expected status. In short, each extra year that early school leavers spend in school increases their chances of finding a job quickly and increases the status of their job while at the same time reducing the likelihood and length of unemployment. (p.95).
>
> [See also Youth Studies Bulletin, February 1984, Vol.3, No.1, p.62-64]

Table 4, cited from Inglis and Volker (84/AB:152,p.7) shows the influence of educational attainment for different age groups and for males and females, recorded for February 1982. It shows unemployment rates decreasing with age across the groups shown. Among all those without post-school qualifications, teenagers have considerable higher rates of unemployment than do older groups. Once again, female unemployment in the 15-19 age group is higher than the male rate (21.9 per cent as against 16.4 per cent. Commenting on these figures (also quoted in their analysis of unemployment trends), Chapman and Gruen (84/AB:151) sum up:

> Unemployment rates typically vary by education. The data ... indicate that, for males, more highly educated persons experience relatively low unemployment rates. For both sexes unemployment rate differences between education levels decrease with age. Further, males experience lower unemployment rates than females across education levels. Of some interest from these tables is the evidence that females with tertiary qualifications experience similar unemployment rates to those who attend the highest secondary level available, but do not proceed further. (p.21)

The same kinds of relationships are apparent in the most recent ABS information on Labour Force Status and Educational Attainment, Australia, February 1983 (Cat. No. 6235.0). Table 5 gives rates of unemployment for the whole labour force age group (15 years and over). It shows that in 1983 males with a degree or a trade qualification had an unemployment rate of 3.6 per cent and 7.2 per cent respectively; for females, the rates were 8.0 per cent and 9.4 per cent. Males who attended the highest secondary level had an unemployment rate of 10.8 per cent compared with the female rate of 12.9 per cent. For those who left school earlier, on the other hand, the unemployment rates were almost identical at 12.8 per cent for males and 12.9 per cent for females. It is relevant also to youth employment opportunities to note the large rise in the unemployment rate for males with trade/technical qualifications which occurred between 1982 and 1983.

TABLE 4

Unemployment Rate[a]: Educational Attainment and Age, February 1982 (percentages)

Educational attainment	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55 & over	Total
MALES							
With post-school qualifications(b)	*	5.9	2.6	1.9	1.9	2.5	2.8
Degree or equivalant	*	----3.2-----		*	*	*	2.3
Trade, technical level	*	6.0	2.6	2.0	1.9	2.9	2.9
Without post-school qualifications(c)	16.4	12.0	7.2	4.5	3.6	3.5	7.8
Attended highest level of secondary school available	15.6	8.6	3.4	*	*	*	6.8
Did not attend highest level of secondary school available	16.7	13.9	8.7	4.8	3.7	3.5	8.1
Total(d)	16.6	9.8	4.7	3.1	2.8	3.1	5.8
FEMALES							
With post-school qualifications(b)	20.8	9.3	7.6	4.2	4.0	*	7.3
Degree or equivalant	*	16.5	---4.8----		*	*	7.7
Trade, technical level	20.7	7.4	8.2	4.6	*	*	7.2
Without post-school qualifications(c)	21.9	11.0	9.1	5.7	4.6	*	9.7
Attended highest level of secondary school available	20.6	8.7	7.1	*	*	*	10.6
Did not attend highest level of secondary school available	22.4	12.1	9.6	5.6	4.5	*	9.5
Total(d)	21.8	10.3	8.4	5.1	4.4	*	9.1

* Sampling variability too high for most practical uses

a) Unemployed persons as a proportion of persons in the labour force in the same group

b) Includes a small number of persons with other post-school qualifications

c) Includes persons who never attended school

d) Includes persons aged 15 years and over who were unemployed but still attending school

Source: Cited from Inglis and Volker (84/AB:152, p.7). Derived from ABS The Labour Force Educational Attainment, Australia February 1982 (6235.0).

TABLE 5

Unemployment Rates and Educational Attainment (15 years and over)
(percentages)

Date	With post-school qualifications		Without post-school qualifications	
	Degree or equivalent	Trade, technical level	Attended highest secondary level	Did not attend highest level of secondary school
		MALES		
1979	2.1	3.5	6.5	7.3
1980	3.3	2.9	4.8	7.4
1981	2.7	2.5	5.7	7.1
1982	2.3	2.9	6.8	8.1
1983	3.6	7.2	10.8	12.8
		FEMALES		
1979	*	7.1	10.4	10.1
1980	*	6.4	10.2	9.5
1981	6.9	5.5	8.2	8.8
1982	7.7	7.2	10.6	9.5
1983	8.0	9.4	12.9	12.9
		PERSONS		
1979	2.8	4.7	8.0	8.4
1980	3.5	4.0	6.8	8.2
1981	3.8	3.6	6.7	7.8
1982	3.9	4.3	8.2	8.7
1983	5.0	7.9	11.6	12.8

Source: ABS, Labour Force Status and Educational Attainment, Australia, February 1983. Cat. No. 6235.0. Canberra: ABS, December 1983 (Table 16, p.22).

Type of School and Unemployment

Closely linked to school retention and educational attainment as a factor in unemployment rates is the type of school attended. Discussion in the Clearinghouse Newsletter (November 1982, p.45-46) indicated the sharp differences apparent in retention rates to final years of schooling among the three types of schools. These are brought up to 1982 in Table 6. The influence of educational attainment on unemployment rates has already been discussed above, but there are further links to be seen between type of school and employment opportunity. The summary of research into employer recruitment and selection practices in the Youth Studies Bulletin, May 1984 (Vol.3, No.2, p.48-49) indicated that, while employers disavowed preference for students from any particular type of school, nevertheless there is evidence that school leavers from Catholic schools are more likely to gain employment and apprenticeships than students from government schools (see, for example, Williams et al. B102; Davis 84/AB:145; King 84/AB:50). There is also clear evidence that students who go on to higher education, particularly into high status faculties such as medicine, come in disproportionate numbers from non-Catholic non-government schools (see, for example, Anderson and Vervoorn 83/AB:130; Teese 83/AB:111). The links between school retention, the socio-economic status of the family and type of school attended have also been made by many research studies (see, for example, Williams et al. B102; R.W. Connell et al. B99; Miller B100). It is not surprising therefore that the differences are reflected in unemployment rates. As Table 7 indicates, among persons aged between 15 and 24 years who attended school in 1982 but were not in school or in tertiary education in May 1983, the unemployment rate for males from government/state schools was 32.7 per cent; for females, 30.2 per cent. In the case of males and females from non-government schools, the small numbers of unemployed do not permit an equivalent estimate. However, the totals in both cases including males and females are estimated, and show an unemployment rate of 31.4 per cent for school leavers from government schools compared with 18.0 per cent for leavers from non-government schools. Overall, counting all categories, the rate of unemployment of leavers from government schools at 30.2 per cent is not far short of double the rate of unemployment of leavers from non-government schools at 18 per cent.

Place of Residence and Unemployment

Increasing information is becoming available year by year on the uneven distribution of unemployment among particular groups of people. There is considerably less information on or research into the differing incidence of unemployment among people living in different areas. It has long been accepted that the decline in rural industry during most of this century has been reflected in declining job opportunities, higher rates of unemployment among rural workers and a migration of young people, particularly, to the cities. Beyond this general knowledge however, there seems to have been very little information provided on rural unemployment, though its problems have been reflected in some studies of school leavers undertaken in country areas about 1980 (see Stoessiger, B42,43, 83/AB:85).

The term 'rural', of course, covers a wide range of people living in diverse areas of the continent, ranging from sizeable country towns to remote areas of the remote outback. But the terms 'urban' or 'metropolitan' also cover a wide range of cultural and employment/unemployment

TABLE 6

Apparent Retention Rates - Australia. First to Final Year of Schooling

Date	Government	Catholic	Other Non-Government
1971	25.9	33.9	81.7
1972	27.6	35.2	86.5
1973	27.9	37.7	88.0
1974	27.3	39.1	90.3
1975	28.6	40.9	88.2
1976	29.6	41.5	88.9
1977	29.7	43.2	87.6
1978	29.6	43.1	85.5
1979	28.9	44.1	87.1
1980	28.4	44.8	87.9
1981	28.5	45.6	89.2
1982	29.6	47.5	88.5

Source: Commonwealth Department of Education. Statistical Monograph No. 3. Seventh Edition, September 1983 (83/AB:110).

TABLE 7

Unemployment Rates: Persons Aged 15-24 Years who Attended School in 1982 but were not Attending School in May 1983

Type of School Last Attended	In Tertiary Education Full-time	In Tertiary Education Part-time	Not in Tertiary Education	Total
Males				
Govt./State	*	*	32.7	30.8
Non-Govt.	*	*	*	15.4
Total	31.8	16.5	29.8	27.6
Females				
Govt./State	*	*	30.2	29.5
Non-Govt.	*	*	*	18.1
Total	23.0	*	28.4	27.0
Persons				
Govt./State	30.4	22.9	31.4	30.2
Non-Govt.	*	*	18.0	16.8
Total	27.0	18.8	29.1	27.3

* Numbers too small for reliable estimate.

Source: ABS, Transition from Education to Work, Australia, May 1983. Cat. No.6227.0. Canberra: ABS, December 1983 (p.16).

differences, ranging from areas of high density population with high numbers of migrant and other disadvantaged groups and high levels of unemployment to affluent areas where unemployment is minimal. It considerably raises your chances of unemployment if you live in the western suburbs of Sydney or Melbourne. These are the kinds of residential differences which are disguised by overall rates of unemployment.

In recent years, the concept of regional areas and differences has been attracting some attention stimulated by decline in particular industries and resulting concentrations of unemployment. But the work being done in such areas has in the main been piecemeal and uncoordinated. Brewer (83/AB:42) commented in 1982 that 'little is known of the exact impact of unemployment in regional areas', and continued that 'disaggregated local labour statistics are critical for sensible social, economic and industrial planning, perhaps especially in rural areas where there is normally less complementary data' (p.8). Sweet, in the February 1984 issue of the Youth Studies Bulletin (Vol.3, No.1, p.76) notes 'the paucity of data at a regional or local level' and indicates the need for more information and research. Knowledge of rural labour markets is likely to improve in the future with a Study of Labour Markets in Rural Australia, recently commissioned by the Bureau of Labour Market Research (Powell, 84/AB:126#) which will review research and data on the rural labour market, identify and research issues and publish a comprehensive report at the end of the study.

At present, it is almost impossible to form adequate estimates of levels and rates of youth unemployment in particular urban or rural areas, though impressions may be gained from a number of different studies of varying aims, size and scope undertaken in the last few years. Those which have come to the Clearinghouse are listed below.

A.C.T.

84/AB: 28

N.S.W.

83/C : 62
84/AB: 29, 30, 143, 145, 157-159

QUEENSLAND

84/AB: 31

VICTORIA

B : 32, 79, 82
C : 47, 53
84/AB: 32, 144, 146

W.A.

84/AB: 33, 147

DURATION OF EMPLOYMENT

How Long? How Often?

Estimates of the numbers of people unemployed and of unemployment rates indicate the overall extent of the problem of unemployment but, as already discussed, provide little information about which groups of people in what places are most affected. They also tell us little about how long people are remaining unemployed. This question of the duration of unemployment has been more and more attracting the attention of economic researchers. It is of particular interest also to those concerned with welfare policies and issues to know whether the overall rate of employment represents a great many people unemployed for a short period or a lesser number of people unemployed for longer periods. Chapman and Gruen (84/AB: 151) comment that:

> ... over a given period an unemployment rate of 10 per cent could (at one extreme) be a consequence of 10 per cent of the labour force being unemployed for the whole period. At the other extreme, a 10 per cent unemployment rate could reflect the entire labour force being unemployed for 10 per cent of the period. Both the policy implications and the assesment of the social costs of these possibilities are substantially different. It is important to establish how duration varies both on average over time, and between groups at any point in time. (p.28)

Even in times of full employment, there remains a proportion of unemployment arising mainly from the fact that people change jobs and do not necessarily find satisfactory employment immediately after leaving a previous job. The length of time such people remain unemployed in such circumstances could be expected to be quite short, and the average duration of their unemployment would accordingly also be quite short. However, the same average could cover a number of very short periods of unemployment and a number of much longer spells.

The ABS defines duration of unemployment as the period from the time the person began looking for work or was laid off to the end of the survey week. Thus the survey measures current (and continuing) periods of unemployment rather than completed spells. ABS tables give the numbers in different age groups who are unemployed for different periods of weeks; for example, between 2 and 4, between 39 and 52 weeks. Average (mean) duration is then obtained by dividing the aggregate number of weeks a group has been unemployed by the number of persons in that group. Median duration is the duration which divides unemployed persons into two equal groups, one comprising persons whose duration of unemployment is above the median and the other, persons whose duration is below it.

Within the last decade, it has become accepted that such measures by themselves are inadequate to reflect the complexities of actual unemployment duration, and to provide essential information on who is unemployed, for how long and with what frequency. As indicated above, the survey is not a measure of completed spells of unemployment, but merely records the length of time the person has so far been unemployed. Secondly, there is no way of knowing how many people have repeated and frequent spells of unemployment. Repeated spells of unemployment may be as difficult for

the individual as unemployment of longer duration. Thirdly, measures of duration of unemployment take no account of those who terminate their unemployment by withdrawal from the workforce.

Information about the actual composition of unemployment in terms of job turnover, duration and withdrawal from the labour force is, as Brooks and Robinson (84/AB:153) point out, 'crucial to the type of policy measures required to combat unemployment' (p.3). Unemployment which is due to job turnover and is of short duration will require policies and programs different from unemployment in which some people experience long spells of unemployment.

Following overseas research, a great deal of work has recently been undertaken in Australia in examination of these issues, particularly using information obtained from analysis of flows into and out of employment, unemployment and the labour force. Stricker, writing on youth unemployment in the Clearinghouse Newsletter (November 1983) commented that:

> This reassessment of the nature of the key labour market problem reflects growing awareness of the dynamic character of the labour market; of the role played by the characteristics of jobs and the habits of people in bringing about the observed dynamism; and of the pattern of concentration of unemployment. The view of the labour market which emphasises its dynamic features has been succinctly captured by Aaron in his observation that: "... most of the difference between unemployment rates of blacks and whites, men and women, young and prime age workers, can be attributed to the frequency of unemployment; very little is attributable to differences in the duration of employment ... The picture that emerges is one of a massive lottery, in which people at any given time are in one of three states - employed, unemployed, or not in the labour force. The chances of moving from unemployment into a job differ, but only by a little, from one demographic group to another. But the chances of moving from employment either into unemployment or out of the labour force altogether differ greatly and account for almost all of the differences among demographic groups in unemployment" (Aaron, 1978: p.119). (p.71).
>
> [See also Gregory and Stricker A25, Gregory and Foster A58, Brooks and Robinson 84/AB:153]

Lack of adequate information, particularly the kind which could be provided by longitudinal studies, leaves the situation still unclear and open to divergent views on labour force patterns and movements. However, the youth labour market and unemployment patterns are comparatively well served by longitudinal studies which can be expected to contribute to understanding. Three such studies are currently being undertaken: the national study by Williams et al. (B102); the study by Winefield and Tiggemann in South Australia (B28,44,96,121, 84/AB:172,173); and the recently begun study by the Bureau of Labour Market Research with a large national sample of people aged 15-24 years (84/AB:160).

Average Duration of Unemployment

Age, sex and educational attainment all have a bearing on the average duration of unemployment as they do on rates of unemployment. Table 8

TABLE 8

Average Unemployment Duration by Age and Sex* (weeks)

Year	Males Age Group 15-19	20-24	25 and over	Females Age Group 15-19	20-24	25 and over
1966	2.6	2.4	2.9	3.5	3.0	3.1
1967	2.7	2.4	2.8	3.0	3.0	3.6
1968	8.6	5.9	8.1	11.4	4.9	10.4
1969	7.3	9.3	7.7	7.2	5.0	7.6
1970	3.9	4.1	10.1	6.4	7.1	7.4
1971	5.4	4.8	7.2	5.4	5.4	8.0
1972	6.5	7.6	11.5	8.1	8.2	11.2
1973	5.5	7.4	11.2	10.2	12.2	8.9
1974	7.3	4.6	7.3	8.1	6.8	5.2
1975	12.5	9.2	14.0	13.7	10.4	13.0
1976	19.5	13.5	19.4	17.6	14.9	16.6
1977	19.8	16.5	24.6	22.3	19.4	18.7
1978	19.9	19.6	31.3	27.2	31.0	25.2
1979	23.0	26.2	32.1**	24.9	27.9	25.5**
1980	21.4	27.9	38.6**	25.0	31.1	28.7**
1981	20.2	28.6	40.4**	23.8	36.4	28.3**
1982	21.5	30.4	39.8**	26.7	35.9	33.0**
1983	32.0	41.1	45.5**	32.1	44.0	41.2**

* Figures for August
** Approximations due to aggregation

Source: Chapman and Gruen (84/AB:151), derived from ABS, The Labour Force, Cat. Nos. 6203.0, 6204.0

ADDENDUM: May 1984 (weeks)

	Males	Females
15-19	31.6	30.6
20-24	43.9	39.0
25-34	53.9	37.8
35-54	57.0	46.9

Source: ABS, The Labour Force, Australia, May 1984. Cat. No. 6203.0. Canberra: ABS, June 1984 (p.30).

(cited from Chapman and Gruen (84/AB:151) with an addendum for 1984) indicates that males aged 25 years and over have higher duration of unemployment than younger males. For females the relationships are more variable, the 20-24 year age group in recent years showing longer duration of unemployment than other groups of females or males, except males over 25 years. The longer duration for males over 25 years reflects the worsening employment situation for older workers; for females over 25, the possibility of withdrawal from the workforce needs to be taken into account. Withdrawal may similarly be influencing the unemployment duration of teenage females.

Table 8 also shows how the average duration of unemployment has increased, sometimes dramatically between 1974 and 1984. In 1974, the average duration of unemployment for teenage males was about six weeks, for females about 10 weeks; in 1984, the average for both sexes is about eight months.

The influence of educational attainment on average duration of unemployment is shown in Table 9. Chapman and Gruen (84/AB:151) comment:

> These data indicate, first, that unemployment duration tends to increase as educational attainment decreases. Second, increases in unemployment rates from 1979 to 1983 have apparently been associated with higher average unemployment duration, particularly for females. Third, the movement into higher unemployment has had disproportionately adverse consequences for persons with degrees (or equivalent): their average durations approximately doubled 1979-83 whilst other groups experienced at most less than one-third increases. (p.34)

Spells of Unemployment

The use of averages to indicate duration of unemployment can be misleading in that it can cover very uneven distribution of unemployment; for example, large numbers of people with very brief spells combined with a small number of people with prolonged spells of unemployment. Inglis and Volker (84/AB:152) show the variations in spells of unemployment between 1974 and 1981 (see Table 10). Table 11, also cited from Inglis and Volker (84/AB:152) indicates the age distribution in spells of unemployment, showing that the older age groups have longer spells of unemployment than the younger age groups. Most teenagers have spells of unemployment between one and three months. It is mainly those between 35 and 64 years who remain unemployed for one or two years and more. However, both Tables 10 and 11 also indicate a solid core of people of all age groups experiencing long-term employment. Brooks and Robinson (84/AB:153), summing up their analysis of unemployment duration comment:

> Our analysis of the composition of unemployment in terms of incidence, duration and concentration revealed that the unemployment situation in Australia is quite complex in nature. For example, from our estimates, persons who became unemployed during 1982 faced an average completed spell of 16.9 weeks but, at any point in time during 1982, all those who were unemployed faced an average completed spell of 62.4 weeks. Moreover, although only 5.9 per cent of the spells of unemployment which commenced in 1982 had an average

TABLE 9

Unemployed Persons: Educational Attainment, Unemployment Rate and Average Duration of Current Period of Employment, 1979 to 1983

Year	With post-school qualifications			Without post-school qualifications	
	Degree or equivalent	Trade, technical level	Total(a)	Attended highest secondary level	Did not attend highest level of secondary school
			MALES		
Unemployment rate (per cent)					
1979	2.1	3.5	3.3	6.5	7.3
1980	3.3	2.9	3.1	4.8	7.4
1981	2.7	2.5	2.6	5.7	7.1
1982	2.3	2.9	2.7	6.8	8.1
1983	3.6	7.2	6.5	10.8	12.8
Average duration (weeks)					
1979	12.3	26.1	24.0	19.8	39.3
1980	18.6	24.6	24.0	15.7	32.9
1981	19.4	25.2	23.9	26.2	41.1
1982	20.6	31.0	29.0	22.3	37.5
1983	20.2	23.3	23.4	24.8	37.7
			FEMALES		
Unemployment rate (per cent)					
1979	*	7.1	7.0	10.4	10.1
1980	*	6.4	6.0	10.2	9.5
1981	6.9	5.5	6.0	8.2	8.8
1982	7.7	7.2	7.3	10.6	9.5
1983	8.0	9.4	9.2	12.9	12.9
Average duration (weeks)					
1979	*	21.6	21.0	19.4	27.8
1980	*	20.6	21.4	20.6	29.7
1981	16.4	22.9	20.8	21.3	31.8
1982	12.8	20.4	19.4	20.1	31.8
1983	23.6	22.4	23.3	24.1	36.5

* Subject to too high a sampling variability

Source: ABS, Labour Force Status and Educational Attainment, Australia, February 1983, Cat. No. 6235.0. Canberra: ABS, December 1983 (Table 16, p.22).

TABLE 10

Distribution of Unemployed Persons by Duration of Unemployment During 1974, 1976, 1978, February 1980-February 1981 (per cent)

	Less than 4 weeks	4 weeks and <13 weeks	13 weeks and <26 weeks	26 weeks and <52 weeks	52 weeks
MALES					
1974	38.0	41.2	12.7	8.1(a)	
1976	18.4	37.6	18.9	19.5	5.6
1978	16.8	34.8	17.9	19.8	10.6
1980(b)	18.0	36.9	17.2	16.4	11.6
1981(c)	23.1	33.5	17.2	15.4	10.7
MARRIED FEMALES					
1974	47.1	35.5	9.0	8.4(a)	
1976	22.6	38.0	15.0	17.0	7.3
1978	21.8	30.4	15.3	18.3	14.0
1980(b)	25.6	29.0	15.7	16.2	13.6
1981(c)	30.5	27.8	14.7	15.0	12.0
OTHER FEMALES (d)					
1974	41.9	41.2	10.8	6.0(a)	
1976	22.0	35.5	17.7	17.7	7.1
1978	15.6	34.1	19.4	19.3	11.5
1980 (b)	18.7	35.5	16.0	18.7	11.2
1981 (c)	26.0	32.5	15.1	15.4	11.0

a) 26 weeks and over

b) February 1980 to February 1981

c) February 1981 to February 1982

d) Comprises never married, widowed and divorced

Source: Inglis and Volker (84/AB:152, p.13). Derived from ABS Labour Force Experience, 1974, 1976, 1978, February 1980 to February 1981 to February 1982, Cat. No. 6206.0.

TABLE 11

Distribution of Unemployment Benefit Recipients as at 27 August 1982 by Age and Duration (per cent)

Age	Up to 3 weeks	Over 3 weeks, up to 13 weeks	Over 13 weeks, up to 6 months	Over 6 months, up to 1 year	Over 1 year, up to 2 years	Over 2 years
MALES						
16	18.7	40.2	25.0	15.3	0.8	-
17	14.0	32.7	21.6	22.3	9.2	0.2
18-20	13.5	30.6	22.6	19.3	10.4	3.7
21-24	13.5	29.8	21.0	18.3	11.4	6.1
25-34	13.3	27.0	18.8	17.3	13.6	9.9
35-54	11.7	23.9	17.0	16.5	15.6	15.3
55-64	8.5	17.7	14.1	17.2	19.7	22.8
Total	12.8	27.3	19.4	17.8	13.0	9.6
FEMALES						
16	18.2	36.7	24.9	19.2	0.8	-
17	12.6	28.5	20.4	28.2	10.0	0.2
18-20	10.4	25.5	21.3	24.0	12.9	5.9
21-24	10.8	24.8	19.4	21.0	13.1	10.8
25-34	10.9	24.4	18.6	19.8	14.6	11.7
35-54	9.2	19.9	16.9	19.6	18.1	16.4
55-64	7.4	15.7	13.4	19.7	19.8	23.9
Total	11.1	25.5	20.1	22.4	12.7	8.1

a) Figures may not sum exactly due to rounding.

Source: Inglis and Volker (84/AB:152). Derived from unpublished data from the Department of Social Security.

> completed length in excess of one year they accounted for a disproportionate 35.2 per cent of total unemployment weeks. (p.29)

A further aspect of duration of unemployment is the frequency of spells. Table 12 is cited from Trivedi and Baker (83/AB:15) and shows the incidence of multiple spells of unemployment by age. It indicates that:

> The proportion of teenagers experiencing repeat spells of unemployment is less than in the case of persons aged 25-54 years. However, the second part of the table suggests that compared with the 25-54 years category the incidence of repeat spells for teenagers leads to a longer total period of unemployment while the reverse is the case when we compare groups experiencing just one spell of unemployment. This last statistic, however, must be interpreted cautiously because, as noted earlier, repeat spells are an unknown mixture of completed and interrupted spells and there may be systematic biases in the data which would vitiate intergroup comparisons. (Trivedi and Baker 83/AB:15, p.17).

The Patterns of Youth Unemployment

A great deal of research interest has focused on the patterns of movement within and out of the youth labour force. Stricker, in the article mentioned earlier (Newsletter, November 1983, p.71-85), has put together a comprehensive synthesis of the research and its implications. The following excerpts reproduce his summary of the findings of this research. The Tables referred to are those in the original article and they can be consulted on pp.73-75 of the November 1983 issue.

> Several key findings of the research into the functioning of the youth labour market based upon analysis of gross flows data may be readily established with reference to the data in these tables. Firstly, the **gross flows for young people** are extremely large, and are not confined to movements within the labour force categories of employment and unemployment but extend to include movements between the labour force and outside the labour force. Using the technique adopted by Foster and Gregory of comparing youth flow propensities with those of prime age males, several features emerge. It is evident that teenagers and young adults display a greater propensity to leave employment than prime age males (Table 1, part B). Upon moving from employment, the data in Table 1, Part C indicate that a significantly greater proportion of young people (with the exception of males 20 to 24) move out of the labour force rather than into unemployment. It is apparent (from Table 2, part B) that young people who are unemployed in one month are more likely than prime age males to have moved out of unemployment by the second month. Compared with prime age males, a higher proportion of the movement out of the state of unemployment amongst young people represents movement outside the labour force. From Table 3 it is evident that teenagers of both sexes, and female young adults, have a lower propensity to

TABLE 12

Incidence of Multiple Spells of Unemployment by Age

A. Persons aged 15-19 years

Percentage of the unemployed experiencing

	1 spell	2 spells	3 spells
1972	81.1	10.5	8.4
1974	81.5	11.0	7.5
1975	80.3	11.3	8.4
1976	81.0	11.5	7.5
1978	82.5	12.5	5.1
1979	85.8	9.0	5.2

Average annual experience of unemployment by number of spells (weeks)

1972	5.5	11.1	13.7
1974	7.1	15.2	16.0
1975	13.0	18.3	18.6
1976	14.0	20.0	21.0
1978	17.0	21.0	24.0
1979	16.0	26.0	21.0

B. Persons aged 25-54 years

Percentage of the unemployed experiencing

	1 spell	2 spells	3 spells
1972	77.5	10.4	12.1
1974	80.5	10.0	9.5
1975	77.1	9.7	13.2
1976	79.4	10.6	10.0
1978	83.2	10.0	6.8
1979	81.0	n.a.	n.a.

Average annual experience of unemployment by number of spells (weeks)

1972	7.8	10.2	11.9
1974	7.4	12.8	14.4
1975	13.7	16.6	15.8
1976	15.4	18.4	17.2
1978	18.2	20.5	n.a.
1979	20.5	n.a.	n.a.

n.a. not available

Source: Trivedi and Baker (83/AB:15, p.20). Based on various issues of the Australian Bureau of Statistics publication Labour Force Experience (ABS Cat. No. 6206.0).

move into the labour force after an absence from the labour force than do prime age males. While over 70 per cent of prime age males moving into the labour force go from being outside the labour force into employment between successive months, this successful transition is made by a much smaller proportion of labour force entrants in the youth age groups. Notwithstanding the lower successful labour force entry rate of youth compared with prime age males, it must be recognised that in excess of 50 per cent of labour market entry by young people does not involve employment. Foster and Gregory (1982a: p.122; A58) have summarised several of these findings in the five propositions that teenagers, compared with prime age males, have:

- a higher propensity to separate from jobs to enter unemployment
- a higher propensity to separate from jobs to leave the labour force
- a lower rate of successful labour force entry
- a slightly lower rate of finding jobs when unemployed
- a higher rate of exit from unemployment to leave the labour force.

Secondly, **the duration of completed spells in employment and unemployment** in Table 4 are shorter for young people than for prime age males with, for example, the average duration of unemployment for teenage males being only 2.6 months compared with 3.2 months for prime age males; and teenage males are employed on average for only 13.5 months compared with 66.7 months for their adult counterparts. These durations of completed spells are shorter than published data giving 'snapshot' information on durations at the time of labour force surveys because the snapshot contains a preponderence of long spells.

Thirdly, **using a procedure to evaluate the relative contribution of differences in transition probabilities,** associated with frequency of unemployment experiences on the one hand and duration of unemployment on the other hand, in the unemployment rate of different demographic groups, Foster and Gregory (1982b: p.16) were able to conclude that: "When unemployment is divided into monthly inflows and average durations it is clear that it is the variation in inflow rates to unemployment that is most closely associated with the variation in unemployment rates across demographic groups. Groups with higher unemployment rates have higher inflow rates, and groups with lower unemployment rates have lower inflow rates. By contrast, there is no discernible association between the unemployment rate and the duration of unemployment". On the basis of this finding, the high unemployment rates of young people are mainly attributable to the fact that young people have rates of employment turnover which greatly exceed those of prime age males. (p.76-77)

Stricker goes on to review research on employment turnover, noting the lack of 'longitudinal data of the kind necessary to fully understand the significance of high rates of employment separation for young people' (p.79). Lacking this, he uses Australian data on job satisfaction and dissatisfaction which indicate that 'a higher proportion of teenagers and young adults are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with their jobs' than is to be found among adults (p.79). This may indicate a propensity for

frequent job changing. Brooks and Robinson (84/AB:153) suggest that the frequency of job changing among teenagers 'may be in part due to the fact that Australian manpower policies are largely directed at unemployed teenagers. Teenagers may be employed on subsidy and then dismissed when the subsidy expires'(p.23). It may also conceivably be due to the casual, part-time nature of much teenage employment which tends to be short-term and where there seems to be some evidence that increasing wage rates among older teenagers have an influence on employer practices (see, for example, Byrne 84/C:42).

Summarising the findings of research on employment separations, Stricker, in the article quoted above, comments:

> Early work on the flows approach pointed to the apparent ease with which the unemployed move out of unemployment, and the resultant short average duration of unemployment, and thus had the effect of downgrading the significance of hardcore unemployment and emphasising instead the short term nature of much unemployment. Subsequent research on labour market dynamics heavily qualified the benign view of unemployment emerging from these early studies by pointing to the distinction between the characteristics of those who experienced unemployment over a period (the majority of whom are correctly described as having a short duration of unemployment), and the characteristics of the unemployed at a point of time. The unemployed at any time includes a comparatively small group of persons who nevertheless have been unemployed for long periods and this small group thus accounts for a disproportionate amount of unemployment. (p.81-82)

He goes on to comment that the data indicate:

> ... that the majority of young people experiencing unemployment are out of work for short periods, yet the relatively small proportions who are unemployed for long periods is responsible for a disproportionate share of total weeks of unemployment.
>
> The critical problem of youth unemployment is one of extensive unemployment amongst a small group of people, rather than simply a matter of high rates of job turnover. As Clark and Summers (1980b: p.174) observed, "... people who find work easily contribute negligibly to the unemployment statistics. Joblessness as a major social and economic problem arises from the experience of the relative few who have prolonged difficulty in finding work". (p.82-83)

He concludes:

> It is unfortunate that little is presently known about the personal characteristics of young people in Australia who have been unemployed for long periods; for example, whether they are noticeably less educated than average; whether they are of any particular ethnic grouping; whether they are located in some areas rather than others. The answers to these questions could be available from suitable cross-classification of characteristics derived from population census data, but unfortunately no attempt is currently made in census collections to ascertain the duration of unemployment experiences, or indeed their frequency of occurrence. (p.83)

HIDDEN UNEMPLOYMENT

The Marginal Workforce

The criteria used by ABS to distinguish those persons in the labour force from those persons not in the labour force are based on those recommended by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and internationally accepted in 1954. McMahon and Robinson (84/AB:149) point out that 'at the most recent review of labour market measures at the ILO Conference of Labour Statisticians in late 1982 ..., the basic concepts and definitions which underlie labour force measurement have remained unchanged from those accepted in 1954' (p.2). These definitions conceive of the population as being cleanly divided at any particular time into those in the workforce and those not (and not wishing to be) in the workforce. The unemployed are those who are not working at all - full or part time. A number of developments in recent decades have made these clear divisions less and less appropriate as a description of the actuality and as a basis for policy-making. For example, the increasing participation of women in the workforce at all stages of their lives instead of, as previously, for a limited period pre-marriage makes it unrealistic to assume that all those out of the labour force are content to be so (see Clearinghouse Newsletter, August 1982, p.29-30). Secondly, the decline in full-time work and the corresponding rise in part-time (and generally casual) employment means that there could be many people, particularly young people, who are forced to accept part-time work for lack of full-time jobs. Thirdly, increasing levels of unemployment and the decline in job opportunities lead many people seeking work to the experience of repeated rejection and the consequences of this for confidence and hope. In these circumstances, withdrawal from the workforce altogether becomes the solution for some. These developments and other factors have undermined the clarity of previous divisions. Chapman and Gruen (84/AB:151) comment that:

> ... two important points warrant emphasis. First, like many other economic concepts, that of unemployment is somewhat fuzzy. A second, and related point is that there is no clear one-to-one relationship between employment and unemployment, or between changes in employment and changes in unemployment. (p.3)

They continue:

> ... there are any number of borderline cases where there is some legitimate room for doubt as to whether a person is "unemployed" or "not in the labour force". When jobs become scarcer, some people stop actively searching for them because they feel that looking for work is unproductive. They would then cease to be members of the labour force - according to the Statistician's definition. However, others might regard them as the "discouraged workers" i.e. people who would be prepared to take a job if a suitable one was offered. It is well known that when unemployment rises, the labour force participation rate falls and that some people become part of the discouraged worker group. Here again there is dispute about precise estimates, but there is little debate about the general tendency for withdrawal from the labour force when jobs become scarcer. At such a time an increasing proportion of people take part-time jobs even though they would prefer to be employed full-time. (p.3-4)

Hidden unemployment thus exists not only among those who are professedly out of the labour force but also among those who are in the labour force and classified as employed; that is, the under-employed part-time workers who are part-time because they cannot find full-time employment.

Accepting the existence of unemployment among those who are not officially in the labour force, the ABS has since 1975, 'conducted regular surveys of persons not in the labour force seeking information on their labour force aspirations and, if appropriate, their availability for work and reasons for not currently looking for work' (Cat. No.6219.0, March 1984). This information is published regularly in Persons Not in the Labour Force (Cat. No.6220.0). Such people as expressed a wish to be in the labour force but for the difficulty of finding employment were categorised as 'discouraged job-seekers'. In September 1979, these were estimated to number 74,000 - a total to be compared with the Stricker and Sheehan (A41) estimate for August 1979 of 340,000 hidden unemployed (almost as many as the 374,000 recorded unemployed) (p.3). Commenting on the discrepancy, Stricker and Sheehan conclude that while the ABS survey 'provides much valuable information about persons not in the labour force, it is an inadequate instrument for the measurement of hidden unemployment'; and go on to give their reasons for the conclusion (p.9).

Since then, the ABS survey and estimates have been substantially revised. The most recent publication in the series, for March 1984 (Preliminary), Cat. No.6219.0, explains that:

> As interest has grown over the years in this component of the population, various modifications have been made to the survey to provide a more comprehensive range of data. The September 1983 survey was further modified by the introduction of a new concept 'marginal attachment to the labour force' ... and some improvements were made to the measure of discouraged jobseekers. (p.1)

Among its detailed explanatory notes, the publication provides these definitions:

- Persons not in the labour force are by definition those persons who do not meet the criteria that would enable them to be classified as being in the labour force.
- Persons not in the labour force, therefore, include all persons aged 15 years and over who are not employed, who want work but do not meet the criteria to be classified as unemployed; who do not want to work; or who through incapacity or infirmity can not work.
- The revised survey now provides more det iled characteristics concerning those persons who do not meet all of the criteria to be classified as unemployed but who have marginal attachment to the labour force. For the purposes of this survey, marginal attachment includes persons who were not actively looking for work but who wanted to work and were available to start work within four weeks and persons who were actively looking for work but were not available for work in the week prior to interview (the survey week).
- Discouraged jobseekers (a subcategory of those with marginal attachment are those persons who were available to start work within four weeks but who were not actively looking for work for reasons which are assessed to indicate discouragement.

> . Discouraged jobseekers are those persons with marginal attachment to the labour force who wanted to work and were available to start work within four weeks but those main reason for not taking active steps to find work was that they believed they would not be able to find a job for any of the following reasons: considered by employers to be too young or too old; language or racial difficulties; lack of the necessary training, skills or experience; no jobs in their locality or line of work or no jobs at all available.(p.1-4)

The publication contains a useful diagram (p.2) explaining the relationships of the various categories and indicating something of the complexity which must be covered by concepts and definitions of employment and unemployment.

The result of the new approaches has been a considerable increase in the estimates of persons outside the labour force who would like to be in employment - what the ABS has called 'persons with marginal attachment to the workforce'. The survey dated March 1984 (preliminary and therefore subject to revision) indicates the magnitude of the change in estimates:

> In March 1984, 4,513,200 persons aged 15 years and over were not in the labour force. Of these 750,000 had marginal attachment to the labour force, little change from the September 1983 figure of 765,000.
>
> Among those with marginal attachment to the labour force
>
> . 743,000 wanted to work and were available to start within 4 weeks (733,700 in September 1983). 116,100 of these were discouraged jobseekers
> . 7,000 were actively looking for work but were not available to start within 4 weeks, a substantial decrease from the September 1983 estimate, 31,900. (p.1)

The 750,000 persons with marginal attachment to the workforce compares with a total recorded unemployment estimate of 701,000 unemployed and looking for full or part-time work (Cat. No.6203.0, May 1984). The comparison indicates the dimensions of the problem of hidden unemployment. Potentially, there are more than twice as many persons wishing to participate in the labour force than the official levels of unemployment would suggest. As employment opportunities increase, many of these people will be drawn back into labour force participation. The consequences are those indicated in a recent News Release by the Federal Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations, Mr Willis (12 July 1984):

> 'It is extremely pleasing to have achieved such a spectacular reversal of employment trends, and that employment growth is continuing at such a strong rate. The employment level in the three months to June was 82,400 higher than the average for the three months to March. Two hundred and fifty-nine thousand new jobs have been generated, in seasonally adjusted terms, since April last year. We are now more than halfway to our three year target of 500,000 jobs in just 14 months'.
>
> Mr Willis said it was ironic that despite the continuation of such strong employment trends, the official unemployment rate had nevertheless increased. This was a result of the rise in the labour force participation rate in June following the unexpected decline in May. Despite the growth in employment,

> the unemployment rate rose during June as a result of a strong increase of 53,000 in the labour force, the large part of which was the result of an increase in the participation rate (i.e. the percentage of the population looking for work). Mr Willis said it must be expected that further rises in the participation rate might occur as the economy recovered.
>
> 'It will therefore be difficult to make notable inroads against unemployment for some time, as people are attracted back into the workforce in response to improving employment prospects. The continuing success of the current employment trends will however eventually mean a further decline in unemployment rates.'

Table 13 gives details of the characteristics of those people with marginal attachment to the workforce, including age groupings and reasons for leaving last job. Notable in the Table is the preponderence of females in most of the main age groups. Table 14 shows the main reasons given by respondents for not actively seeking work. McMahon and Robinson (84/AB:149), while acknowledging the very great improvement since September 1983 in ABS estimates of discouraged workers as a sub-set of hidden unemployed, still query the ABS for limiting reasons for not actively seeking work to 'main reason' only, arguing that it 'may be more relevant to include as discouraged workers all people who list discouragement as one reason for not being in the labour force, rather than only those for whom the Australian Bureau of Statistics classify discouragement as being the highest ranked (or main) reason for not being in the labour force. An alternative would be to have different categories of discouraged workers, for example those who only offered discouragement reasons, those who offered discouragement reasons **and** family considerations, and so on.' (p.25).

'To say this suggested approach is highly subjective is not a criticism. It is impossible to measure the number of discouraged workers in an entirely objective way. After all the very concept of discouragement is subjective - that is, not actively seeking work because of the belief that search will fail. The more subjective the concept the greater should be the range of measures. Furthermore, even these modest alternatives could result in an underestimate of the hidden unemployed as people may be so discouraged that they do not want to work (as opposed to being discouraged in the sense described above). Nevertheless a change in the labour market for the better could well change their expectations about obtaining employment and induce participation in the labour force' (p.25-26).

For teenagers, the picture of who is unemployed is further (and again) complicated by education participation. The hidden unemployed among teenagers comprise

- those in part-time work who would like more work or full-time employment; that is, the under-employed
- those who have returned to school because they have not been able to find employment; that is, school students who would leave school if a job were available
- those who have dropped out of the workforce altogether.

TABLE 13

Persons not in the Labour Force with Marginal Attachment to the Labour Force: Summary of Characteristics
March 1984 ('000)

	Discouraged Jobseekers			All persons with margianl attach- to the labour force		
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
Total	24.8	91.3	116.1	154.2	595.8	750.0
Age group (years)						
15-19	5.2	4.8	10.0	58.5	64.7	123.2
20-24	*	4.8	6.7	16.9	63.5	80.3
25-34	*	18.7	19.3	13.4	203.9	217.3
35-44	*	20.5	21.2	9.4	138.2	147.6
45-54	*	25.0	27.2	13.7	73.9	87.5
55-64	7.5	11.8	19.4	25.0	40.4	65.4
65 and over	6.6	5.6	12.3	17.2	11.3	28.6
Work preference						
Full-time	12.9	17.1	30.0	72.9	91.3	164.1
Part-time	10.6	68.5	79.1	74.7	486.5	561.2
No preference	*	5.7	7.0	6.6	19.0	24.6
Reasons for leaving last job(s)						
Dismissed, retrenched	7.4	17.2	24.6	22.2	61.8	84.0
Seasonal/temporary, went back to school	3.6	9.9	13.4	27.3	64.3	91.6
Retired, did not want to work any longer	5.2	7.5	12.7	18.1	27.5	45.6
Own ill-health or injury	*	5.2	6.7	21.9	28.4	50.3
Family considerations	*	24.6	24.7	*	238.9	240.8
Left to get married	*	8.4	8.4	*	47.4	47.4
Left to have children		11.4	11.4		153.4	153.4
Other family considerations	*	4.7	4.8	*	38.1	40.1
Travel, moved house, spouse transferred	*	12.4	13.3	4.9	62.1	67.1
Unsatisfactory work arrangements	*	4.2	5.7	5.5	24.8	30.3
Other reasons	*	*	3.8	6.0	15.7	21.7
Not asked	*	*	*	*	7.3	9.3
Never had a job	3.6	7.5	11.1	44.3	65.0	109.3

Source: ABS, Persons Not in the Labour Force, Australia, March 1984 (Preliminary) Cat.No.6210.0 (p.6)

TABLE 14

Persons With Marginal Attachment to the Labour Force:
Persons not in the labour force with marginal attachment to to the labour force: reasons for not actively looking for work, March 1984 ('000)

Main reasons for not actively looking for work	Males	Females	Persons
. Wanted to work and available to start work within four weeks			
Had a job to go to	3.4	6.9	10.3
Personal reasons	98.4	167.1	265.5
Own ill-health, disability, pregnancy	25.1	37.0	62.2
Attending an educational institution	52.7	52.1	104.8
Has no need to work	9.3	40.2	49.5
Give others a chance	*	9.9	11.0
Welfare payments/pension may be affected	6.1	15.6	21.7
Moved house/holidays	4.1	12.2	16.3
Family reasons	3.1	259.4	262.5
Ill-health other than self	*	9.6	10.1
Unable to find suitable child care/ preferred to look after children	*	210.9	212.1
Other family considerations	*	38.9	40.3
Discouraged jobseekers	24.8	91.3	116.1
Considered too young or too old y employers	12.0	22.6	34.5
Language or racial difficulties	*	3.5	3.8
Lacks schooling, training skills or experience	*	8.4	10.0
No jobs in locality or line of work	6.5	34.1	40.7
No jobs at all	4.3	22.8	27.1
No jobs in suitable hours	*	20.8	22.9
Other reasons	6.1	22.0	28.2
Don't know	*	7.9	9.5
Were actively looking for work	9.3	9.4	18.7
Not asked	*	7.3	9.3
. Were actively looking for work but not available to start work within four weeks	3.3	3.7	7.0
Total	154.2	595.8	750.0

Source: ABS, Persons Not in the Labour Force, Australia, March 1984 (Preliminary) Cat. No.6219.0 (Table 2, p.4).

The Under-Employed

As discussed in an earlier paper in this series (Youth Studies Bulletin, February 1984, p.64-71), teenagers have been among the groups most affected by the decline in full-time employment and the growth of part-time employment. Most of these part-time jobs are, in fact, held by full-time students, mainly school students. The BLMR report (84/AB:19) estimated that 'full-time students constituted almost 75 per cent of the teenage part-time labour force in 1981' (p.8); and the background paper for the OECD inquiry into youth policies and programs written in 1983 by the Department of Education and Youth Affairs (84/AB:82) concluded that 'thus the trend to a greater share of the teenage employment being part-time is simultaneously a shrinking in the number of jobs available to those tenagers out of education' (p.74).

Most of these part-time jobs are, as Sweet has many times emphasised, short-term, under ten hours a week, poorly paid and entail little or no training (see, for example, Sweet A18, 83/AB:18). They are far from constituting an entry to the full-time career workforce (though Davis in his study in Western Sydney (84/AB:145) found evidence that for some young people part-time jobs eventually led to full-time employment).

Many teenagers who are not in school/education and who are relying on part-time employment for their living would need to be classed as under-employed. Sweet (83/AB:82) indicates that teenage girls are particularly affected:

> The largest group of those teenagers working part-time are school students. Of these there are numerically more girls than boys. Nevertheless, school students form a smaller proportion of the female teenage part-time workforce than of the male teenage part-time workforce - in the period August 1981 to April 1982 school students' share of the teenage part-time workforce averaged 62 per cent in the case of males, but 54 per cent in the case of females. This indicates that girls who have left school are more likely to be found in marginal part-time jobs than are boys who have left school, and supports earlier information (Table 6) indicating that two-thirds of those teenagers whose only post-school role is a part-time job are female. (p.11)

In an earlier research report, Sweet (83/AB:18) argues:

> ... that part-time employment among post-school teenagers represents for many a form of disguised unemployment. The unattractiveness of part-time work to teenagers who have left school and who are not post-secondary students is illustrated by the fact that in May 1981 only 3 per cent of this group who were unemployed were seeking part-time work. This suggests that few among the comparable group who held nothing but a part-time job did so voluntarily, reinforcing the suggestion that it can be regarded as a form of disguised unemployment.
>
> Thus on a more liberal definition of hidden unemployment among teenagers who have left school those whose only status is a marginal part-time job would be transferred from the employed category and included among the unemployed. (p.19)

Some support is given to the existence of such under-employment among teenagers in the ABS May 1984 Labour Force Survey (Cat. No.6203.0, Table 7, p.15). This shows that, among those 15-19 years not attending school, unemployed and looking for work, 67,900 males and 56,600 females were looking for full-time work. The numbers looking for part-time work were too small to provide a reliable sample.

The same publication (Table 17, p.20) shows that among teenage part-time workers:

Part-time Workers 15-19 Years

Males		Females	
44,700	and	75,300	preferred not to work more hours
22,400	and	31,600	preferred to work more hours
Of the latter:			
9,800	and	13,700	had actually looked for full-time work in the four weeks to the end of the survey week.

Since a very high proportion of teenage part-time jobs are, as mentioned earlier, held by full-time students, it can be inferred that a high proportion also of those who preferred not to work more hours would be full-time students. It would seem likely then that the bulk of the 54,000 teenagers who preferred to work more hours are teenagers not in education. In any case, 23,500 teenagers were actively seeking full-time work - by no means a negligible number of young people who considered themselves under-employed.

The Hidden Unemployed at School

In May 1976, the ABS in its publication, Leavers from Schools, Universities and Other Educational Institutions, May 1976 recorded that

> 9,400 persons returned to school in 1976 because they could not find a suitable full-time permanent job after leaving school at the end of 1975.

This category of information was discontinued after that year. The ABS does, in its Labour Force series, record the numbers of teenagers attending school who, at the same time, are recorded as unemployed and looking for work (Cat. No.6203.0, Table 7, p.15). As might be expected, most of them (20,800 in May 1984) are looking for part-time work; but 6,800 of them are recorded as looking for full-time work. Of those aged 15, 6,100 are looking for full-time work as against 12,100 looking for part-time work. These school students, far from being hidden unemployed, are among the officially recorded unemployed.

Hidden unemployment among school students is a much less tangible matter. As discussed in the Youth Studies Bulletin, February 1984 (p.51-61), teenage participation in the labour force is in large measure the result of individual choices made by teenagers whether to continue full-time education, to combine education and work or to leave education altogether and enter the workforce. The factors which influence the

choices and the outcomes are complex and interlocking, but in all of them the conditions of the labour market play a central role either directly or indirectly, and sometimes in ways different from what might be expected. The Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission report, Learning and Earning (83/AB:27), recognises as one of the factors influencing teenage choice 'the operation of the "shelter effect", whereby adverse labour market conditions may have induced some young people to defer their entry to the full-time labour market and in the meantime to continue with their full-time education' (p.50). Certainly, explanations of and speculation on the reasons for changing education/school participation rates during the last decade have generally been couched in terms of the attractiveness or otherwise of the labour market (see, for example, Stricker and Sheehan A41, p.196; Karmel A3, p.14). There can be little doubt that economic and labour market circumstances and perceptions of the value and/or rewards of education tend, with the assistance of media comment, to build up a climate of opinion for or against education which influences individual choices to a greater or lesser degree. The effects are difficult to quantify, but none the less real. Sweet (83/AB:18) comments:

> ... that 76 per cent of the variance in female and 50 per cent of the variance in male 15 and 16 year old school retention over the 1964 to 1979 period can be accounted for by using full-time employment and unemployment among 15 to 19 year olds in November of each year in a simple two-variable linear regression to predict school retention to August of the following year. This strongly suggests that long term trends in school retention are not independent of labour demand. This implies that the use of school retention as an index of hidden teenage unemployment is a very rubbery measure indeed.
>
> We are faced with the problem of either using all upward trends in school retention after a given arbitrarily chosen time to measure the extent of hidden teenage unemployment, or of only regarding as hidden unemployment that school retention which is associated with a definite indication of a desire to obtain a full-time job. However by ABS definition this forms part of the official rather than the hidden unemployed. Undoubtedly school participation rates are sensitive to the level of unemployment. However obtaining a clear estimate of the number of students induced at any given time to remain at school because of the state of the labour market is a problem which is not readily open to solution. (p.7)

Out of the Labour Market

The studies of labour market flow patterns mentioned earlier have shown the propensity of teenagers of both sexes to become discouraged and drop out of the labour force. Stricker, in the article quoted earlier (Newsletter, November 1983) concludes his analysis with these comments:

> It is clear that young people frequently end spells of unemployment by moving outside the labour force, and the significant difference between young people and prime age males in the movements from unemployment emanates less from differences in job-finding propensity and more from the greater likelihood that unemployed young people subsequently move out of the labour force. These factors point again to the import-ance of non-participation for young people and the tenuous

> nature of the distinction between young people who are classified as unemployed (not having a job, available for, and actively seeking work) and those who are the hidden unemployed and, as such, not in the labour force (not having a job, not available for work and/or not actively seeking work). A young person who in successive monthly surveys is identified as unemployed/out of the labour force/unemployed may in fact be in a comparable state of joblessness throughout, with the difference being whether or not a specific definition of unemployment requiring the unemployed to have actively looked for work is satisfied. Since some proportion of young people who are not in the labour force at any point of time are in reality at a stage in the job cycle, ignoring such people in the count of jobless youth by focusing only upon those youth who at a point of time meet the definition of unemployment is to capture only part of the proper dimension of youth joblessness. (p.83)

Brooks and Robinson (84/AB:153) make some age group comparisons in the following:

> Teenage males demonstrated a relatively high propensity to find employment after being unemployed. Despite this they also had a high propensity to become discouraged and drop out of the labour force after a spell of unemployment. On the other hand unemployed males aged 20 to 54 years had a high probability of finding employment and a very low probability of leaving the labour force.
>
> The behaviour of unemployed females was rather different. Unemployed female teenagers had lower prospects of finding employment than their male counterparts and an even higher rate of discouragement. The unemployment experience of females aged 20-24 years was almost identical to that of teenage females. Although females aged 25 to 54 years had slightly less difficulty in finding employment than younger females they had a very high probability of leaving the labour force once unemployed. Unlike other groups, it would appear that females aged 25 to 54 years are more likely to leave the labour force and substitute non-market activities if they are unable to find employment. (p.22)

The most intensive analysis of teenage hidden unemployment has been undertaken by Sweet in his various papers (see, for example, Annotated Bibliography D12,13; A18; 83/AB:18,82; 84/AB:12,137). Sweet estimates that:

> In May 1981 40,100 Australian teenagers who had left school had no involvement at all in either the labour force or education. It is they who, on the strictest criteria, could be regarded as the "hard core" hidden teenage unemployed. This group would be described by the ABS as being "not in the labour force and not in education". They are the group typically described in social surveys as "other", or unaccounted for and presumably not to be accounted for. It would be more appropriate to describe them as being in limbo, for they have no officially recognised place in mainstream of post-school life. Of this 40,100, 33,100, or 82.5 per cent were teenage girls. (p.18)

Table 13, drawn from ABS Persons Not in the Labour Force (Cat. No. 6219.0), records that in March 1984, there were 10,000 discouraged job seekers in the 15-19 age group (5,200 males and 4,800 female teenagers). Among the 750,000 person_ with marginal attachment to the workforce 123,200 were teenagers (58,500 males and 64,700 females). There are substantial numbers of young people, and we continue to know very little about them. Moira Rowland, in her paper in this Bulletin, indicates the dif iculties of filling in the blank spaces in the picture of teenage activities.

As far as the Clearinghouse is aware, there have been five studies to throw light on these 'in limbo' teenagers and their activities. Among the few is Presdee's in-depth study of unemployed working class young women in the South Australian city of Elizabeth (B67, 84/AB:89). Presdee maintains that women, and especially young women are the greatest victims of high unemployment. For many people,young women are invisible and their behaviour and activities devoid of colour and interest. There is even a widely held opinion that unemployed young women are not a problem, since they are happy to stay at home and do the housework, lacking ambition and resisting change. The interviews in this study disprove this stereotyped view of young women and present the reality of 'fatalism and anger, resignation and revolt, ignorance and worldly wisdom, underpinned by a deadening material poverty' (p.5). Many of these young women are indeed absorbed into housework but not passively. The interviews highlight the depressions, frustrations and despair which characterise lives without hope of change. These young women have lost the hopeful fantasies of younger school leavers. They had no 'great ambitions for marriage nor great fantastic scenarios for the future. For them the future stopped at simply a job' (B67, p.5).

Social life for such young women is more restricted than it is for males, often because male activities are not considered appropriate for females. For these young women, it is in the 'shop' culture that they find some outlet, some relief from domestic drudgery and boredom. They frequent the shops as places of excitement and social intercourse, and the displays of affluence beyond their means to buy inevitably tempt some of them into shoplifting and the courts. Presdee concludes: 'Finally for these young women, social humiliation is completed by the regression to the social position of "girl", being without power, without prestige and without autonomy' (p.15).

One of the common speculations is that many of these young women have retreated into pregnancy and motherhood as a means of achieving status as well as financial support. Montague in her study, Labour Force or Labour Ward (B38), concludes that 'on statistical evidence alone there does not appear to be a close relationship between unemployment and teenage single motherhood', but 'on the basis of more qualitative evidence there are indications which suggest that the fact of high unemployment rates among teenage girls enhances the likelihood that the most disadvantaged of them - the poorly educated, unskilled, emotionally deprived ones with low self-esteem and poor socio-economic supports and resources - will consider the status of mother as one of the limited options open to them' (p.ix). Delin, in her paper on Educational Options for Teenage Mothers in this issue of the Bulletin, agrees that unemployment could be a factor in that 'girls without jobs may have little or no structure in their lives and faint hopes of ever being employed'. On the other hand, Presdee (84/AB: 89), also commenting on the lack of evidence of any increased promiscuity accompanying the rise in unemployment, concludes that young women who are

unemployed, single and mothers as well are confronted by community attitudes of resentment based on the myth that they were choosing promiscuity as an 'easy' way of living, supported in their ease by the 'hard work' of those in jobs. He goes on to point out that for those who have children life is far from easy - trapped, as they so often are, by shortage of cheap accommodation into living with families and lacking even the acknowledged social status of motherhood.

The final word should go to Sweet who, in his article in the Youth Studies Bulletin (February 1984) mentioned earlier comments:

> Although unemployment is the most widely used measure of the number of youth in difficulty in the transition from school, if we exclude those in either full-time work or full-time education, there are nearly as many teenagers left over who are not counted as unemployed as who are officially regarded by ABS as looking for work. For instance in July 1982 there were 96,100 post-school teenagers in this category compared with 98,000 in the official unemployed group (ABS, 1982)
>
> In the main these missing thousands either survive on a combination of the dole and/or poorly paid casual part-time work, or have no educational or labour force status at all (Sweet, 1982b). We know almost nothing about them, other than the fact that roughly two-thirds are girls. We do not know whether this fringe group who have fallen into a statistical black hole are rural youth, live on outer urban fringes, or are surviving in inner city squats. Are they mostly the children of migrants? And how many exist on supporting parents' benefits, without building up work experience or training to give them a stake in the future? If we aim to develop equitable participation programs, this is an obvious group of school leavers for whom no formal provision exists. (p.77)

NEITHER LEARNING NOR EARNING: THE PUBLISHED INFORMATION

*by Moira Rowland**

In 1966 the compilers of the Australian Census very neatly divided teenagers into those who were at school, those who had jobs, and those few mavericks in neither category. By 1984 the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) is producing at least half a dozen publications giving some information about the overlap between education and employment status. Though one may doubt the accuracy of that picture of the simple life in 1966, it is certain that the overlap has increased substantially. Its extent and variability are both subjects for anxious study, linked as they are with the more general questions. Do fewer jobs mean the young stay on at school to get better jobs later, or leave hastily to get whatever jobs are going? What does the considerable increase in part-time employment for the young show, and what are its effects? If either trend is reversed, what would be the need for teachers? The unsettled questions are fascinating.

Meanwhile, those more concerned with the welfare of the young than with their precise roles in the labour market are becoming increasingly curious about what might be called the negative overlap, the black hole into which have fallen those who are being neither educated nor trained but who are either without jobs at all or (by a stricter definition) obliged to work part-time only.

Unfortunately both overlap areas are hard to define, especially given that participation rates and employment rates vary from one year of age to the next and from one sex to the other. It is reasonably easy to establish the total number of, say, 18 year-olds attending some kind of educational institution. There are problems of definition, and different people may end up with different estimates, but at least there are authoritative figures to be combined somehow. It is harder but still possible to estimate the number of 17 year-olds who are employed, unemployed, or not in the labour force at all. Of the three generally available sources of employment statistics (the ABS, the Department of Social Security and the Commonwealth Employment Service) only the ABS publish tables giving single years of age, and these are based on sample surveys, so that the ABS balk at giving a sex breakdown as well as single years of age, though they throw in for good measure the numbers of each cohort attending school (see Table 7 in ABS 6203.0, Labour Force Australia for May 1984, and earlier equivalent tables back to 1978).

It is considerably more difficult to get detailed information combining labour force status with participation in all types of education. There are, of course, the results of censuses, but these are five years apart and the results are not readily accessible except to those equipped with computer terminals. In any case a great deal of material from the 1981 Census is not yet available even on tape - the cross-tabulations one wants are **there** stored away but it can be a lengthy and expensive process to obtain access to them.

Fortunately there is also an ABS survey on the subject: A3S 6227.0 Transition from Education to Work appears each May, based on a survey

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* *National Clearinghouse for Youth Studies*

supplementary to the main population one, and since 1981 it has contained a table showing full- and part-time education against labour force status including full-time and part-time employment, those seeking full-time or part-time work and those out of the labour force altogether. This table does therefore show both the extent of the overlap and the size of the black hole, but it does so only for the age group 15 to 19 and not for single years. The May 1982 edition also gave the breakdown into males and females but this resulted in a great many stars (meaning standard errors too great for reliance in the figures; see p. 65 of Youth Studies Bulletin for May 1984). The 1981 edition gave the breakdown by sex but only for the wider age group 15 to 25, and another table with no breakdown and the narrower group 15 to 19. The 1983 edition does not even provide that much but simply the 15 to 19 group without the sex breakdown.

The otherwise admirable Department of Education and Youth Affairs (DEYA) paper for OECD keeps its education and employment statistics strictly separate but there have been other estimates published fairly recently, notably in the appendices to Learning and Earning. One was apparently compiled by the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC) themselves, and covers the 15 to 19 year-olds as a group for the years 1975 and 1980, and also giving separate figures for males and females (Learning and Earning, Vol.2, pp.49-50); the other was based on the survey directed by Dr Trevor Williams for the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) but this extract from his work provides only selected figures, those for October 1979 relating to 18 and 19 year-old males and females (Learning and Earning, Vol. 2, pp.184-191).

However, the CTEC do not regularly publish information about student employment, and the only time series generally available is the ABS one in 6227.0, and as already explained this gives inadequate detail and it goes back only to 1981.* Moreover, although the supplementary survey results have as usual been tailored to fit 'an independently estimated distribution of the population' they do not entirely fit with independently estimated statistics of participation in education.

Separate figures for participation in education at school are published regularly by the ABS and DEYA, and this year the Commonwealth Schools Commission (CSC) started publishing its own Australian School Statistics. The ABS series are in the process of a complete overhaul; the last issue of 6202.0 Schools Australia, appeared in 1981, and it is being replaced by National Schools Collection, Australia. The first half of this new compilation, National Schools Collection; Government Schools, Australia, 4215.0 has so far appeared twice. The first edition for 1981 gave a welcome 'comparability bridge' to the earlier collection, and a second edition, slightly modified, covers 1982.+ This publication is to be joined by a twin dealing with non-government schools, but the second process of revision is still not completed, so meanwhile there have been two editions of an interim publication Non-Government Schools, Australia 4216.0, which continues the old series for non-government schools from Schools Australia, and which is so far available for 1982 and 1983. All this means that for the moment the only internally consistent ABS school statistics are for 1981, since those for 1982 are compiled differently for

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* *Previously the same publication No. 6227.0 was devoted to leavers and gave no information on the labour force status of those still participating in education.*

\+ *The 1982 version drops any estimate of part-time attendance at school, but suddenly throws in two tables on apprentices.*

Government and Non-Government schools, and for 1983 only old-style figures are available and then only for Non-Government schools. Still, the ABS do give actual attendance figures by age and grade, and so do some of the tables in the new CSC collection. DEYA's Statistical Monograph No.3 contains only 'apparent grade retention rates' and age participation rates (their other two monographs cover respectively leavers and projections of total enrolments). The DEYA age participation rates, also published in the CSC collection, are based on population estimates by single years of age taken from ABS 3201.0 Estimated Resident Population by Sex and Age, so it is not difficult to re-estimate the corresponding attendance figures.

Statistics on attendance at universities, colleges, and TAFEs are published regularly by the ABS and CTEC. The ABS publish University Statistics, Australia, 4208.0 and Colleges of Advanced Education, Australia, 4206.0. The latest editions of both are those for 1982, and each includes a section of historical statistics. There is apparently, however, no ABS publication specifically on TAFEs, although a special survey was carried out in 1979 and some of the results were published in Social Indicators 41.01. for 1980. One may hope TAFEs will be covered by the eagerly awaited Australia's Youth Population, 4111.0 or by Tertiary Education, Australia, 4218.0, both of which are promised for 1984 and should appear in November or December.

These ABS figures on universities and colleges are derived from those held by the CTEC, who themselves publish each year selected statistics in three volumes, dealing with universities, colleges and TAFE. The first two are available up to 1983, but TAFE volume is for 1982. CTEC also sometimes publish useful tables in their triennial reports. The latest, for the triennium 1985-87, contains a substantial contribution by the Technical and Further Education Council which not only gives details of TAFE enrolments, but also has an excellent chapter on TAFE and the Labour Market (see excerpt in this Bulletin). DEYA does not regularly publish further education statistics, but in their compilation for OECD they included participation rates for schools, colleges, universities and TAFE (the first three for 1982, those tardy TAFE figures for 1981). Unfortunately the rates were for 15 to 16 year-olds, and for 17 to 19 year olds, and so are not comparable with other statistics covering either single years or the 15 to 19 group.

Table 1 compares the education participation estimates given in ABS 6227.0 with the statistics available from other sources, and it will be seen that for all institutions except TAFE the figures fit very well, especially given that some of the other age categories are open-ended, and that the 6227.0 figures are said to exclude 'institutionalised persons and persons permanently unable to work' and so might be expected to be lower than those based on total resident population. There also do not seem to be any independent sources of information about the 'other' category covered by 6227.0, but this is in any case very small, and swamped by the TAFE discrepancy.

The discrepancy between ABS survey estimates of TAFE attendance and the actual figures given by the CTEC is a large one (ABS's 143,100 persons instead of CTEC's 259,000) and not easy to explain. The CTEC say explicitly that their statistics have been corrected to prevent double counting (which would otherwise be common, since TAFE students 'register' for each course, even if several courses are taken simultaneously). One theoretical possibility is that since a number of TAFE students are in fact completing their school education at a TAFE, they might regard

TABLE 1

Correspondence between ABS sample survey and actual participation; 1982 has been chosen as the year already covered by most compilations and also as the year when the survey results include sex of students

A.) ABS 6227 for May 1982, Table 3, current attendance at an educational establishment, employment status and age; total including part-time

	Schools	Universities	CAEs	TAFE	Other	Total Attending
M	229.6	26.4	18.6	100.9	7.4	382.9
F	224.2	20.9	18.1	42.3	13.2	318.5
P	453.7[1]	47.2	36.7	143.1	20.6	701.4

B.) Relevant ABS publications

	(4215.0 and 4216.0)	(4208.0)	(4206.0)
M	230.6	26.0	20.2
F	228.6	21.6	25.5
P	459.3	47.6	45.7

C.) Other Authorities

	DEYA & CSC		CTEC	CTEC[2]	CTEC
	% partic. rate	impl. attend-ance			
M	35.0	230.8	25.6		168.5
F	36.2	228.7	21.6		90.4
P	35.6	459.7	47.3		259.0[3]

Footnotes to table on facing page

Footnotes to Table 1:

1. Table 7 in Labour Force Australia, 6203.0, for May 1982, gives yet another figure for all persons 15-19 attending school - 445,100. This is lower than the figure given in 6227.0 for the same month, but excludes part-time students; the table in 6227.0 gives the number of part-time students, 6,800, which makes the number of full-time students 446,900. The remaining difference of 800 students is perhaps due to slightly different population definitions, or perhaps a proof of the ABS contention that one should leave their stars alone.
2. The CTEC's 'Selected Advanced Education Statistics' group students according to age 'under 23', '23-25' and '30 and over'.
3. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 in Vol.1, part 5 of the CTEC report for the triennium 1985-87 imply an even higher figure for attendance at TAFE, about 274,000. As in the 'Selected TAFE Statistics', these figures have been adjusted for students enrolled in more than one stream.

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themselves as being 'at school', so inflating survey figures for school participation and lowering the TAFE participation. However, the survey results for schools accord very well with those published by DEYA, who say explicitly that their rates 'exclude those students enrolled in TAFE courses analogous to those conducted in secondary schools'. A remaining possibility is that apprentices employed full-time and regarding their TAFE courses as part of their work might not report attendance at TAFE as an educational activity.

If the TAFE discrepancy can be ignored, the table in ABS 6227.0 does at least permit a rough estimate to be made of the size of the 'negative overlap'. Adding those not attending any kind of educational institution who are unemployed or not in the labour force gives a total of 148,500 persons for 1982, and for that year (but not for 1981 or 1983) we can also break that figure down into 58,300 males and 90,200 females. If those employed only part-time are included it brings the total up to 182,100 persons, of whom 68,700 are male and 113,500 female (see Table 2). However, we still cannot estimate the age composition of these groups, and we are given absolutely nothing else about them, so the table scarcely throws a bright light into that black hole.

Another approach to the question is to give up trying to construct the perfect matrix and instead to examine more closely those persons who are known to be unemployed or out of the labour force. There are already three subsidiary studies conducted by the ABS, and the resulting publications have useful-sounding titles: Labour Force Status and Educational Attainment, 6235.0; Persons Not in the Labour Force, 6220.0 and Characteristics of Persons Looking for Work, 6222.0. Unfortunately the way the results are tabulated makes them very much less useful than they might be. Attendance at an educational institution is often listed as one among several reasons for not applying for jobs, but it is rarely collated with age, and no attempt is made to analyse other characteristics associated with it. The ABS have, of course, to satisfy a wide range of customers, but it would not take much effort to rearrange the material they already possess in order to shed a great deal more light.

TABLE 2

Persons aged 15-19 years not currently attending an educational institution and not employed full-time (May 1982)

000's	Males	Females	Persons
a) not in the labour force	11.4	38.8	50.3
b) unemployed	46.9	51.4	98.2
c) employed part-time	10.4	23.3	33.6
Total a + b	58.3	90.2	148.5
Total a + b + c	68.7	113.5	182.1

Source: ABS 6227.0, May 1982, Table 3.

Possibly the newest ABS publications ('Youth Population' and 'Tertiary Education') will prove to be more illuminating. Otherwise one will be obliged to wait for the results of the longitudinal studies now being conducted by different groups of researchers, notably those working on behalf of the ACER or the BLMR.

APPENDIX

Publications relevant to 15-19 year olds and to education (numbers of preliminary versions are given in brackets) (n.y.a. means 'not yet available')

1. AUSTRALIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS

4101.0 Social Indicators (latest no.3 for 1980; no.4 is due out this year)
n.y.a. 4111.0 Australia's Youth Population (first and latest due in 1984)
4202.0 Schools Australia (last edition 1981)
4206.0 Colleges of Advanced Education, Australia (latest 1982)
4208.0 University Statistics, Australia (latest 1982)
4212.0 Education Experience and Intentions Survey (first and only 1979)
n.y.a. 4214.0 Reasons for Completion or Non-Completion of Secondary Education, Australia
(4217.0 the preliminary version of 4214.0 is already out, and covers 1982)
4215.0 National Schools Collection; Government Schools Australia (1981 and 1982)
4216.0 Non-Government Schools, Australia (1982 and 1983) (These two are successors to 4202.0)
(4217.0 See above)
n.y.a. 4218.0 Tertiary Education, Australia (first issue 1983)

6203.0 Labour Force Australia (monthly, latest May 1984) (relevant issues appear February, May, August, November)
6206.0 Labour Force Experience, Australia (annual, February; latest 1983)
6220.0 Persons Not in the Labour Force, Australia (twice yearly, latest September 1983)
6222.0 Characteristics of Persons Looking for Work, Australia (annual, often July, latest July 1982)
6227.0 Transition from Education to Work, Australia (annual, latest May 1983)
6235.0 Labour Force Status and Educational Attainment (annual, latest February 1983)
(6240.0) ditto, preliminary (latest February 1984)

2. COMMONWEALTH DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND YOUTH AFFAIRS (DEYA)

Statistical Monographs: No. 1 School Leavers
(Seventh and latest editions, August 1983)
No. 2 Projections of School Enrolments and Projection Method
No. 3 Apparent Grade Retention Rates and Age Participation Rates

3. COMMONWEALTH TERTIARY EDUCATION COMMISSION (CTEC)

Selected University Statistics (latest edition for 1983)
" Advanced Education Statistics (latest edition for 1983)
" TAFE Statistics (latest edition for 1982)

4. COMMONWEALTH SCHOOLS COMMISSION (CSC)

Australian School Statistics, First Edition, January 1984

REVIEW PAPER NO. 13

THE USE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE KNOWLEDGE IN THE FORMULATION OF POLICY ADVICE

by

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(This Review Paper is also the author's report to respondents)

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August 1984

Introduction

The question which prompted this survey is why there is so little apparent use of social science knowledge by policy-makers when both the researchers and the policy-makers favour research use. I first became interested in the question as a member of the Education Research and Development Committee. That Committee went to considerable lengths to promote useful research and to disseminate research findings. Its annual reports asserted the pay-off to the community of investment in education research. Clearly however, the government of the day was not highly impressed because it abolished ERDC in 1980. The ERDC is only one among scores of examples of social science researchers espousing the usefulness of social science research. The eminent sociologist A.H. Halsey said in a recent review of the English National Children's Bureau longitudinal study that 'if we wish to deliver a more intelligent and responsible democracy to our children than we ourselves have contrived to practise, we will either use social science or act against our collective interest'. He goes on to say that 'the utility of research is beyond question'.[1] In Britain, of course, there is a long tradition which links social science with social action. David Glass, the influential London School of Economics sociologist and demographer, said in his inaugural lecture in 1949 that 'social research was integrally bound up with social intervention'.[2]

In the USA also the utility of social science has been its defence against some of the savage attacks on it, particularly on sociology by the current administration. Peter Rossi, in his 1980 presidential address to the American Sociological Association, argued for a more respectable place in the discipline for applied work and asserted its utility for both theoretical purposes and for the world around us.[3]

Of course social science and funding for social science have been attacked by the conservative governments in both USA and U.K. and the assertions by Halsey, Rossi et al. may well be viewed as a defence by parties who are not uninterested in the question of public funding of research. However, claims of the usefulness of social science go back well before the 1950s and 1960s and it could be argued that government disenchantment is not simply ideological (i.e. that social scientists are 'pinkos' and that by its nature research upsets the status quo), but that it is simply a response to oversell.

In Australia social science and social scientists have not been subject to the intensity of attack which has occurred in Britain and America; nor have their resources been seriously threatened, except perhaps in the case of education; (it could be of course that their resources for social science research in this country have never been very great anyway). It is education researchers more than other social scientists who have, in Australia, been proclaiming the utility of their discipline. For example, the Australian Association for Research in Education, in a recent submission to the Minister for Education and Youth Affairs, arguing for the establishment of a research grants scheme, asserted that 'by world standards many of our educational institutions are still no more than of fair average quality. We thus need continued endeavours to improve the quality of Australian education, and in this task research can play an important part. Research can also play a vital role in helping develop strategies to meet current and future problems'.[4]

These proclamations by the research tribal chiefs are endorsed by the Indians. In the mini-survey (reported in detail below) of social science and education researchers, all of them working in the youth studies area, 80 per cent said that their study was of direct relevance to policy formulation. Twenty per cent said that their study was of indirect relevance; none said that it had no relevance whatsoever. At the same time they stated that little use is made of that research which is available.

The views of researchers are echoed on the other side of the fence by the policy people. Although not so frequent as those from the research tribe, statements of the policy advisers are for research, rather than against it; furthermore, they say that they cannot find useful research when they want it. Ken McKinnon, when he was Chairman of the Schools Committee, summed up the position in a chapter he contributed to a recent book. He said 'Education research at present has little impact on policy-making and decisions in education in Australia. In my view this is an unsatisfactory situation. Researchers cannot be satisfied that the bulk of what they do has little apparent application to the nation's affairs, policy-makers are frustrated because often they cannot find any research which is of assistance in solving difficult policy questions'.[5] More recently, in an address to the Education Research Association, the Director-General of Education from one of the States made some scathing comments about education research - not because it is by its nature not useful for policy, but rather because education researchers were not asking the questions that policy-makers wanted asked.[6]

The puzzle then is as follows: Why is there disenchantment of researchers and of policy advisers when researchers believe that the rsesearch they do is useful, and when policy advisers believe in the usefulness of research? Rather than tackling head-on the question, 'Why aren't the results of research used?' it will be helpful to ask some prior questions. Two relevant ones are: Who defines usefulness? and What are the processes which connect research with policy?

First, Who defines usefulness? If we accept that the definition is always to come from the political domain then the research role becomes pretty much one of social engineering; that is, of helping implement solutions to problems defined from within the existing power structure. This role of a researcher as a social engineer should not be denigrated completely - it is one which frequently requires a substantial intellectual component. Take, for example, the Government's Participation and Equity Program. The terms, or the slogans, 'Participation' and 'Equity' require considerable conceptual clarification and their measurement requires complex statistical operations. Implementation of the Program will be that much better if research undertakes these tasks. However, leaving the definition of usefulness to the consumer, particularly to the public service policy advisers, would rule out a good deal of what researchers assert is useful research. The questions which interest the bureaucrats arise from their position in relation to government, and perhaps the need to define a departmental position; such questions are unlikely to include perspectives which are contrary to existing positions and assumptions.

Questions which are formulated in the academy are more likely to challenge conventional wisdom or the perspectives of interested parties; at least this is the alleged task of the university researcher and from this role is derived the concept of academic freedom. Some academic

social scientists assert that their studies are not intended to be useful; rather, they say, scholarship follows the dictates of the intellect, which leads to the advancement of understanding. Some influential social scientists hold this view; I suspect, however, that they are a minority. Unfortunately I cannot be sure as there has not been a study on social scientists and their beliefs.

I do know that there is a significant group of academic social scientists who regard it as important that they inquire about 'practical' problems; i.e. questions which come from the domain of the policy advisers, or of the managers. There is, they believe, an academic pay-off from this in that, in addition to assisting the policy people solve practical problems, such practical research may also provide valuable insights into underlying social processes.

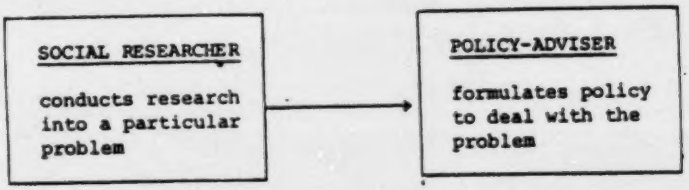
Because the questions which are asked are influenced by institutional position, it is important, when analysing the views of researchers, to distinguish between researchers who are in the academy and those who are in the bureaucracy.

Models of the Research Policy Process

The second prior question concerns the processes by which we think knowledge is communicated from the social science domain to the policy formation domain. I discovered that there is a large amount which has been written on this question, mainly by social scientists. There are three different 'models' commonly put forward as representing the way in which the 'facts' which result from research, reach and are used by, those who formulate policy advice.

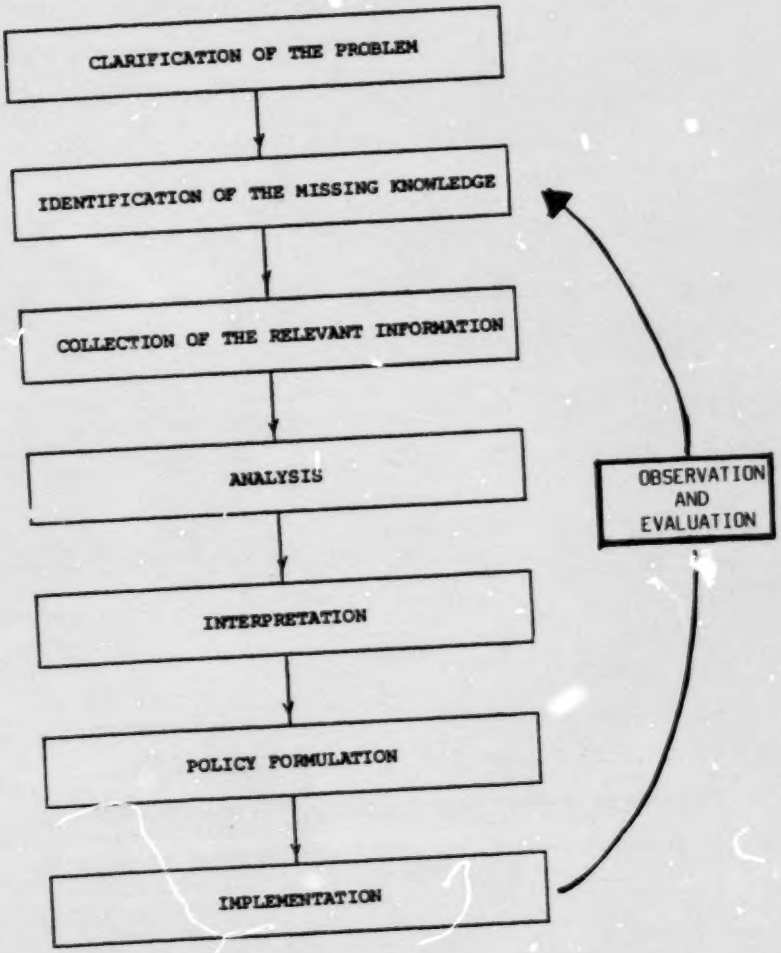
The first of these represents an empiricist's viewpoint and the process has been called the linear model.[7] Social inquiry is held to be primarily factual in nature and the task of the social researcher is to produce 'the facts' for the use of policy advisers (Fig. 1). According to

FIGURE 1


SOCIAL RESEARCHER
conducts research into a particular problem
POLICY-ADVISER
formulates policy to deal with the problem

this model the function and purpose of social research is to produce accurate data - meticulous, precise, generalisable - and the data themselves constitute the end of the matter. It is summed up in the phrase 'the facts speak for themselves'. The starting point might be a problem originating in the policy area, for example, how to reduce the number of early leavers from school. The sequence of steps that are followed is: clarification of the problem, identification of missing knowledge, collection of relevant information, analysis, interpretation, policy formulation and finally, implementation (Fig. 2).

FIGURE 2


CLARIFICATION OF THE PROBLEM
IDENTIFICATION OF THE MISSING KNOWLEDGE
COLLECTION OF THE RELEVANT INFORMATION
ANALYSIS
INTERPRETATION
POLICY FORMULATION
IMPLEMENTATION
OBSERVATION AND EVALUATION

The starting point for such inquiries may be a question which originates in a theoretical discipline and which leads to so-called fundamental research and then to initial understandings of the process and from that to application. Subsequently there might be feedback. Following the application there is observation and evaluation of the effects, the results of which cause adjustments to interpretations of the initial studies, and hence modification of the action.

According to this view, and a majority of both researchers and policy advisers in the mini-surveys appeared to have this model in mind when answering my questions.. Non-utilisation of research could be explained by four possible conditions:

1. Researchers are deluding themselves about the usefulness of research. Not unexpectedly this point of view came mainly from policy advisers. According to them social scientists are simply asking the wrong questions, or if they originally did have the right questions, they are no longer relevant because the study took so long to complete. There is difficulty here which frequently accounts for the frustration and irritation of policy advisers, even when researchers accept the political agenda. This is that research and policy are conducted according to different time scales. Whereas research proceeds at a pace dictated by the logic and methods of disciplined inquiry, answers to policy questions are frequently needed for the political arena which has an entirely different time scale. One policy respondent, more sympathetic than most, commented that 'the trouble with us is that we want the answers yesterday'.

2. The researchers might be asking the right questions but the research method is sloppy and therefore the results are unacceptable to policy advisers. There were some allusions to this in the policy advisers' survey but it did not feature as a major cause of non-utilisation.

3. The questions are right, the research is O.K. but the good news is simply not getting through. This, of course, is more likely to be a researcher's view than a policy adviser's view although some policy advisers wrote about it. It is a problem of dissemination and of communication, or to continue the engineering metaphor, a blockage in the plumbing. ERDC used to ask prospective grantees two questions about the targets for their research: Who are the audiences for your research results? and How do you expect that they will find out about it?. The Committee used to devote a portion of its budget to dissemination and a special sub-committee worked with the author of each completed study on the problem of getting the news to the intended groups.

4. The model used for research might be inappropriate. That is, even though the questions are all right, the research methodology is acceptable, the news is getting through, it is simply that research results from other considerations rather than from sustained rational inquiry. This takes us to our second model.

Research results are not used because research and policy each belong to two cultures which, in a fundamental sense, are unable to communicate with one another. According to this view the research questions might be appropriate, the method impeccable and the dissemination loud and clear, but the results are not used because policy formulation, unlike research, is not a rational process. Rather policy is the optimum resolution of pressures from numerous conflicting interest groups. This is a political science view of the process. It is one in which conclusions, which have been reached following disciplined rational inquiry, have a secondary place.

Findings from research may be used to clarify an issue but not to influence conclusions; research results which are 'on side' may be cited to legitimate a conclusion which has been reached on other grounds; research which is at variance with what is politically expedient is ignored, or, if that is impossible, it is given a favourable interpretation.

Again one should not completely deplore the role which research is accorded in this political science model. Reference to some data and analysis is better than no reference at all - and in a few instances the balance of interests may even be tipped because of the evidence.

There are several psychological theories which are sceptical of policy formation being rational, as is the political science one. For example, Leon Mann (Flinders University) and his colleagues have proposed that research ideas produce tensions in a bureaucracy because they have potential for disrupting the status quo.[8] Up to a point this is productive; beyond a certain intensity however research findings are counterproductive. There are also theories of bureaucratic behaviour being investigated by some social scientists at Murdoch University. The idea is that a bureaucracy will protect itself from additional work, and from potential criticism; also that there are powerful individuals in bureaucracies who are determined to project their self-image on policy, and that this process determines what and how research is used. In such instances one is likely to find senior bureaucrats asserting that 'intuition' is more reliable than research evidence in formulating policy.

A letter from a respondent who is at a senior policy level referred to both the bureaucratic and the psychological impediments to rational decision-making:

> Given that bureaucracies are by nature conservative and resistant to change, and that they are more concerned with the maintenance of their existing systems than in developing new approaches (except perhaps in the crisis response mode) the chances of dramatic new policies and new directions emerging as a result of empirical evidence, are very limited. In my experience there is usually considerable rhetoric about the need for change and the adoption of new approaches, but little real commitment where it is most needed ...
>
> In summary, therefore, it seems to me that, in terms of success in having Ministers and Permanent Heads heed and take proper note of research evidence or other social science-based contributions to the shaping of policies, much depends on the structure and *modus*

> *operandi* of the organisation itself, the nature of its specialist divisions, the ego, attitudes and outlook of the main decision-makers, and their perception of the politics of the situation. It would also be true to say that much research evidence is, by implication, a criticism of existing programs and/or services which is not always well received by those responsible for the running of the system. Again, the heavy workload and time demands on top management, as well as the demands of the political situation, seldom allow them the time, or the energy, for reading or reflection, and hence the opportunity to perceive a larger canvas.

A third model views the process connecting research and policy as one of cultural diffusion. Research influences policy in that the facts, concepts, methods and theories which originate with research gradually percolate from the research domain into the wider intellectual culture and eventually become part of the intellectual kit with which policy advisers organise a problem, and orient themselves to it. It is not so much a direct influence but a long term infiltration or diffusion of the vocabulary of social science beyond its original disciplinary boundaries. The words used to describe this process - percolation, infiltration, diffusion - are also, like the term social engineering, metaphors of physical processes. Carol Weiss speaks of 'knowledge creep'. The nature of the process is quite different however from social engineering. Whereas in social engineering there is a clear line of connections mediating between a research finding and the application, in diffusion the research is not targeted and the problem does not draw on any one study. Rather it is the intellectual culture which embraces both research and policy which mediates the research influence. Edward Shils, the American sociologist, expresses this process in the following way: 'The proper calling of sociology is the illumination of opinion. Having its point of departure in the opinion of human beings who make up the society, it is its task to return to opinion clarified and developed by study and systematic reflection ...'. To vary the metaphor one might say that research wisdom 'droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven'.

One way which social science enters into the political discourse is through contribution to the vocabulary. One need only survey some recent government reports on education. There will be found words and phrases like 'alienation', 'intelligence', 'self-concept', 'social class', 'social mobility', 'level of aspiration', 'environmental influence' (that could be parent, peer or teacher), 'reliability and validity of testing', 'adolescence', 'role conflict'. These terms either originated in or were given precise meanings by professional educationists, social psychologists or sociologists. They are powerful words which are used to organise discussion, to formulate arguments which otherwise would have been made in a more cumbersome fashion, if at all. In some instances the concepts appear to steer policy discussion in particular directions; for example, the idea of environmental influence on behaviour has had a profound effect on teacher education, on teaching methods, on school organisation and on policies for equalising educational opportunity.

The Campbell Report on upper secondary education in ACT provides illustrations where the vocabulary of social science enabled a committee of inquiry to make its arguments more forcefully.[9] In the opinion of the Chairman of that inquiry the social science evidence tipped the balance in a committee where the members had been potentially divided.

Surveys of Researchers and Policy Advisers

In an attempt to illuminate the puzzle of the belief in, but the non-utilisation of, research - I decided to ask some researchers and some policy advisers for their views. There have been numerous surveys of one group or the other, but I have come across only one other study which puts similar questions to both researchers and policy advisers.[10] Considering the volume of the literature on the subject this is a bit surprising. The National Clearinghouse for Youth Studies provided a convenient source for the survey since it has on its mailing list both researchers and policy advisers. Both groups have an interest in a similar substantive area which means that questions could be fairly specific.

The questionnaires were brief and asked about:

- usefulness of research
- examples of useful research
- how results get communicated
- blockages to communication.

The researchers received their questionnaire in April 1983 when it was enclosed with a letter asking them if they would like their work included in a forthcoming annotated Bibliography Youth in Transition.[11] All of the researchers who were approached were working in the area of youth studies, especially on transition from school to the labour force. Most were in social science departments in universities and colleges of advanced education, or in the research sections of government departments of education, welfare and labour.

The policy advisers who received the questionnaire were extracted from the mailing list of the National Clearinghouse and were written to in September 1983. The composition of the two groups of respondents is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Some Characteristics of the Survey Respondents

	Researchers	Policy Advisers
N	96	87
Sex	28%f	13%f
Institution	57% academic	91% government
Seniority	40% at least senior lecturer	41% at least 2nd Division or equivalent

The results from the surveys confirm the puzzle. A substantial majority, about nine-tenths from each group, asserted that the formation of policy should be influenced by evidence from research studies; but only a minority asserted their belief that there was much use of research in practice. The figures suggest, however, that the researchers may be a little more pessimistic than they need be since only 12 per cent assert substantive use compared with 22 per cent of policy advisers (Table 2).

TABLE 2

Ratings of the Extent to which Government Policy in the area of Transition from School is/should be influenced by research

	Researchers %	Policy Advisers %
Should be influenced:		
substantial	90	90
little	10	10
Is influenced:		
substantial	12	22
little	88	78

Respondents were asked to write down a list of titles and studies in the general area of transition from school, youth problems and unemployment which were, in their opinion, of significance for policy formulation. As may be seen in Table 3, researchers and policy advisers differed considerably in the propensity to name studies; perhaps researchers do not look at many reports outside their own particular area. There are also differences within each group - academics cited fewer useful studies than government researchers; senior policy advisers cited fewer studies than junior policy advisers. Presumably junior policy advisers are the ones who scan the field and prepare the drafts; and government researchers are more attuned to policy studies than are academic researchers.

TABLE 3

Number of Titles Listed in Response to Request for Names of Policy-significant Research Studies

	Mean	% citing 2 or more
Academic Researchers	.67	20
Government Researchers	1.3	39
Senior Policy Advisers	3.9	61
Junior Policy Advisers	4.3	79

How does the good news get through from the academy to the policy arena? We asked the research sample how they expected the results of their efforts to be communicated, and we asked the policy advisers how they find out about the results of social science research. They were given a dozen possibilities and were able to tick as many as they wished (Table 4).

TABLE 4

The Means by which Research Results are Communicated
(percentage mentions)

	Expectations		Actual
	Academic Researchers	Government Researchers	Policy Advisers
Academic Journals	68	26	65
Written reports for policy advisers*	50	65	74
Books	46	17	54
Verbal reports to policy advisers	38	26	NA
Lay journals	28	17	33
Own departmental reports	26	87	56
Newspapers	26	0	46
Radio	16	0	18
Television	10	0	10
Participation in research by policy advisers	-	34	57*

* Juniors only

Perhaps not unnaturally academic journals are mentioned more than any other medium by the academic researchers. On the face of it their expectations in this regard are not unrealistic since academic journals also figure highly in the policy advisers' sights. Government researchers, on the other hand, communicate more directly - either in writing to policy advisers or via a departmental report.

It is noteworthy that a good deal of research publication appears to be without the benefit of the usual, formal, independent critical peer review - either through journals or publishers' referees (I have also noted this in preparing bibliographies on youth studies). This failure to use formal independent review is perhaps understandable in the case of government researchers where it is the custom for a department to publish

the results of its own enquiries (often for limited distribution); it is surprising, however, that so much academic research is apparently published without this check. The case for departmental publication is, of course, speed - a delay of one or two years is not infrequent in publishing in journals or books and this may well render policy studies quite irrelevant by the time they become available.

Communication of research findings through the policy advisers actually participating in research is apparently something which occurs frequently only among junior policy advisers; it is also an expectation of a number of government researchers. Academic researchers, however, do not view this as an important means of communication, nor do senior policy advisers find out about research through participation. On the other hand, policy advisers and academic researchers both regard the popular media as an important means of communication. The high frequency mention of newspapers probably reflects the distribution of a press clipping service in the ser .or echelons of the service.

Which studies are regarded by researchers and by policy advisers as important contributions to forming policy advice? The titles of all 'studies' which were mentioned at least four times are listed in Table 5. It is of interest that two of the reports which were cited frequently were not research studies but publications by two Commonwealth Commissions: Learning and Earning by the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission and Schooling for 15 and 16 Year Olds by the Schools Commission. Both of these reports are discussions of policy issues, which, while making substantial use of research studies for their analyses and conclusions are policy rather than research documents. The most frequently mentioned research project was Youth in Transition by Trevor Williams and his colleagues from ACER. The next most frequently cited 'studies' were not single studies but series put out by the National Clearinghouse for Youth Studies and by the Bureau of Labour Market Research.

Despite the relatively high endorsement given to academic journals as a means of communication of research results there were very few citations of journal articles by either policy advisers or by researchers and none received more than one mention. Furthermore, apart from OECD, overseas publications were rarely cited. 15,000 Hours by Rutter et al. and a New Training Initiative by the Manpower Services Commission were the only two which received a mention and they were only nominated two times.

Two or three critical observations may be made at this stage. First, the totality of responses is consistent with the reports from both sides; that research really is not used a great deal in the formulation of policy. For example, fewer than one-tenth of the 1,500 studies which have been abstracted by the National Clearinghouse for Youth Studies over the past three years were cited and most of these received only one or two mentions. Secondly, as was noted earlier, there were very few citations from researchers. At first glance this is surprising since researchers as a group seem to be much more assertive than policy advisers regarding the usefulness of research. Since all respondents were engaged in the field one would have expected them to be at least as familiar with relevant studies as the policy advisers A third observation prompted by these responses is that the publications which are most frequently used are not reports of research appearing in professional journals, or even research books or monographs, but those which review the research literature in the context of policy questions.

TABLE 5

Number of Times Particular Reports were Cited

	Policy Advisers	Researchers
1. Learning and Earning. Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission, AGPS, 1982	28	5
2. Youth in Transition, ACER	19	5
3. Schooling for 15 and 16 Year Olds. Commonwealth Schools Commission, CSC, 1980	14	3
4. National Clearinghouse publications	13	0
5. Bureau of Labour Market Research Reports#	9	0
6. Labour Market Studies. R. Sweet#	8	4
7. Youth Needs and Public Policies. ACER, 1976	8	1
8. OECD Reports#	8	0
9. Youth Policies. L. Shears, J. Matthews. A Report to the Hon. R. Fordham, M.P., Minister of Education, Victoria, June 1983	6	0

Returning to the issue of the general support which policy advisers express for research, there are some differences between those in senior and those in junior positions although overall endorsement remained high however the question was put. In response to the proposition 'the social sciences can contribute a great deal to the formation of intelligent policy' there were none who gave a strongly disagree rating: agreement or strong agreement was expressed by 57 per cent of the senior policy advisers and 84 per cent of the junior policy advisers (Table 6).

If social science is potentially useful, which disciplines are of most use? The respondents were provided with a list of ten different academic disciplines or areas of research and asked to rate each of them on a scale ranging from 'of great use' at one extreme to 'rarely or never used' at the other.

TABLE 6

The Social Sciences can contribute a great deal to Intelligent Policy (percent of policy advisers rating high or medium/low agreement)

	Status of Policy Adviser	
	Senior*	Medium/Junior
Agree (= top 3 ratings on 9-point scale)	57	84
Neutral or Disagree	43	16

USA policy advisers: 63 per cent agree (see end note no. 13).

Junior policy advisers, consistent with their general overall position of being more pro-research, gave consistently higher ratings than did their senior counterparts. A majority regarded education and training, statistics, inter-disciplinary areas, and economics as being of considerable use. A majority of the senior policy advisers also regarded education and training, and statistics as of considerable importance; just under half rated inter-disciplinary studies and economics as similarly important. Least regarded were anthropology (which is perhaps understandable) and psychology and social psychology which received endorsement from less than one-tenth of senior policy advisers and around a fifth of the junior policy advisers (Table 7).

Rather than denigrate psychology as being in the useless category it is, I think, instructive to distinguish between the social and the behavioural sciences. It is the former which address the sort of questions which most frequently confront policy advisers; behavioural research is more often concerned with questions which are of interest to clinicians: teachers, teacher educators, social workers, management consultants, industrial officers and health workers. These were not represented in our survey groups.

To return to our question: Why is it that, with this apparent general support for the usefulness of research, there is apparently so little use in practice? At this point the open-ended responses and letters which accompanied the questionnaires of the policy advisers are of interest.

Underlining many of these written comments were three related assumptions:

TABLE 7

Ratings by Policy Advisers of the Usefulness of Various Social Science Disciplines (per cent indication of 'considerable use' - top 3 points on a 9-point scale)

	Status of Policy Adviser	
	Senior	Medium or Junior
Education and Training*	66	71
Statistics	64	66
Inter-disciplinary areas	47	56
Economics	39	51
Sociology	29	53
Organisation and Management Studies	18	33
Political Science	17	27
Social Psychology	9	24
Psychology	3	21
Anthropology	3	7

In the study of US policy advisers (see end note 13) sociology, psychology and inter-disciplinary studies rated highest in frequency of use; political science, education and training and anthropology lowest.

1. That researchers are asking the wrong questions
2. That researchers have objectives which have nothing to do with policy questions
3. That researchers fail to understand the policy-making process.

Many of the comments are not inconsistent with the 'two cultures theory' of non-utilisation. The two most articulate statements supporting this view were from respondents who had moved from one domain to the other. A senior policy adviser now a senior academic wrote that 'the frames of reference of [researchers and policy advisers] do not significantly overlap, and researchers rarely get on to the questions which trouble policy-makers'. He went on to say that 'it is hard to find people who can identify important questions which will yield data of potency for policy-makers. They perform for a different audience'. A university lecturer who is now a Third Division public servant spoke of

the 'mutual suspicion of goals, functions and motives' of the two groups. Others spoke of the 'jargon which is intelligible only to the initiated in-group, if then'.

That intuition is as good as rationality in gaining understanding of behaviour did not receive strong support. Not unnaturally most academic researchers rejected the idea out of hand. What is surprising is the extent to which the proposition is supported by researchers in government establishments (Table 8).

TABLE 8

A sensitive or intuitive person can know as much about social behaviour as the social scientist can by doing research (percent of researchers and of policy advisers rating high or medium/low disagreement)

	Academic Researchers	Government Researchers	Senior Policy	Medium/Junior Policy
Agree	33	64	54	65
Neutral or Disagree (= bottom 3 ratings on 9-point scale)	67	36	46	35

* USA policy advisers: 54 per cent disagree

None of the respondents seemed to regard the two cultures or two positions as completely unbridgable. The lecturer turned public servant thought academics needed a greater appreciation of the political process.

This view that researchers could be brought to have a greater appreciation of the policy-making process by mixing more with the bureaucrats was expressed by a majority of the respondents. They were asked to respond to the proposition that 'a major factor affecting the utilisation of social science research is a lack of understanding and interaction between the social scientist community and the policy-maker's community'. This was endorsed by 60 per cent of the junior policy advisers and 51 per cent of the senior policy advisers (Table 9).

And, in the same vein, a little over half of both the junior and the senior policy advisers endorsed the proposition that 'social scientists won't be able to achieve effective knowledge utilisation until they become thoroughly familiar with the policy-making process'. It is of interest that the researchers gave even stronger endorsement to that proposition than did the policy advisers (Table 10).

TABLE 9

A major factor affecting the utilisation of social science knowledge is the lack of understanding and interaction between the social scientists' community and the policy-makers' community (percent of policy advisers rating high, or medium/low agreement)

	Status of Policy Adviser	
	Senior*	Medium/Junior
Agree (= top 3 ratings on 9-point scale)	51	60
Neutral or Disagree	49	40

* USA policy advisers: 28 per cent agree

TABLE 10

Social scientists won't be able to achieve effective knowledge utilisation until they become thoroughly familiar with the policy making process (percent of researchers and policy advisers rating high or medium/low agreement)

	Academic Researchers	Government Researchers	Senior Policy	Medium/Junior Policy
Agree (= top 3 ratings on 9-point scale)	58	81	54*	43
Neutral or Disagree	42	19	46	57

* USA policy advisers: 19 per cent agree

One respondent (a director in a State system) believed that proximity of researchers to policy advisers is not enough; research evidence is made proper use of when those who produce the research are present and involved when the decisions are being made. The following extract from a long letter makes the point:

> Some State Departments, usually the larger ones, have research units which make some input to the policy process but which, on the whole, could not be said to be very influential compared to other more strategically placed contributors.
>
> For example, this Department has had a Research Branch for over ten years. It has had a flexible charter and considerable freedom of action in determining its research priorities, with its Head directly responsible to the Director-General. It would, I think, be fair to say that its influence on education policy has been far less than it might have been because of its indepedent place in the total structure. In other words, because it has not been placed within one of the main Divisions of the Department, it has not been represented at Directorate Meetings and consequently has not had access to the forum at which policy decisions are made.

This view, that there should be an organic linking of the research and policy processes, is developed by Husén in a paper on Sweden where education research has been an intrinsic part of educational planning. He suggests that not only does research need to liaise closely with the policy area, but that researchers should assist policy advisers in formulating policy-relevant questions, interpreting the outcomes of a research project and indicating the limits of research.[12]

The written comments of academic researchers, however, make it clear that, while familiarity with the policy-making process might be a condition of effective knowledge utilisation, this was not necessarily desirable if it implied the tailoring of research questions to problems of the moment. One said that 'I don't think this is an end which social scientists should be striving to achieve'; and another reported that 'if research work is carried out to suit a particular policy orientation it may produce little more than propaganda! Utilisation should not be seen as a social scientist's objective'; a third observed that 'university researchers should never forget their obligation to criticise, to seek the hidden assumptions, to look at things in new ways'.

We asked both groups to respond to the proposition that 'social scientists tend to be naive about the political feasibility of the utilisation of their findings' and found general endorsement for the view across all groups. Academic and government researchers, and junior and senior policy advisers all tended to agree with the proposition (Table 11). However, in the words of one policy adviser respondent 'naivety is not the problem. The problem is that they [the social science rsesearchers] do not often get on to the questions that trouble policy-makers so that the frames of reference for the two simply do not overlap to a sufficient degree'. (This is a different respondent to the one quoted earlier but the words are very similar.) 'Sociologists', he said, 'tend to start from theories, for example, Marx, not from an examination of the complex social facts as they exist with an attempt to create a theory from them'.

TABLE 11

Social scientists tend to be naive about the political feasibility of the utilisation of their findings (percent of researchers and policy advisers rating high or medium/low agreement)

	Academic Researchers	Government Researchers	Senior Policy	Medium/Junior Policy
Agree (=top 3 ratings on 9-point scale	54	45	43*	52
Neutral or Disagree	46	55	57	48

* USA policy advisers: 23 per cent agree

This theme, of researchers writing for their own kind, is developed by another correspondent who was asked to write on the survey questions: and who focused particularly on the contribution of research to understanding of unemployment issues:

> If one reads the plethora of papers which pass under the name of economic research on unemployment, this is what emerges:
>
> - a measure of agreement on the inadequacy of officially recorded levels and rates of unemployment as drawn from ABS Labour Force Surveys
> - a measure of agreement that the officially recorded statistics on unemployment no longer reflect the complexity of the situation on the ground
> - disagreement and confusion on almost every other aspect of the topic: under and hidden unemployment, causes, consequences, not to mention what is actually happening to the jobs in the labour market.
>
> Despite the agreed deficiencies in the available information, economists go on churning out labour analyses in lengthy 'research papers' using their particular pet models and techniques with which they hope to confound other economists who will undoubtedly produce their own pet models in withering response. Busy people have neither the time nor the inclination to engage in games of 'round robin'. Nor have they the time to seek the two or three pearls of fact or insight (if they exist) which may be sifted from the surrounding verbiage, often ill-expressed, ill-organised and ungrammatical. The important thing obviously is to produce the length which will chalk up another 'research paper' for the author.

> These comments obviously are sweeping and written with some emotion. They cannot be taken as unqualified generalisations; but there is a sufficiently large measure of truth in them to prompt the questions: Who are these people writing for? Why do they write? What do they hope to achieve? How often do they test their conclusions against actual situations? Are they concerned with making any contribution to government policies? If so, why don't they write clearly and succinctly?

That is as far as the survey analysis has been taken. In summary the conclusions that can be made are that among a group of researchers and a group of policy advisers, all of them engaged in one particular policy area, there is majority support for the beliefs that

a) research results should be used
b) research results are not used (because the questions are wrong say the policy advisers)
c) that things can be improved; that there were few advocates of the extreme version of the two cultures or political science model.

Given the way that the respondent groups were assembled one would not expect outright rejection of the idea of useful research. The researchers were all engaged in applied research, the policy advisers were mainly people who had taken the trouble to get on the mailing list of the National Clearinghouse for Youth Studies (an institution widely known for its rationality!). Similarly one would not expect our respondents to advance the cultural diffusion theory of the connection between research and policy because they are nearly all working at the coalface of research or policy, in roles associated with expectations that knowledge should be immediately useful.

Some More Theoretical Speculations

Why then the despondency about usefulness? The first point to be made is that the respondents are simply wrong; the fact is that research is used a great deal. One has simply to consider a few policy initiatives of the last decade to realise the extent to which disciplined, rational enquiry has been involved. Perhaps the most significant have been the welfare measures which followed the Commission of Inquiry into Poverty which was set up in 1972 by the Liberal/Country Party Government. That Inquiry produced four major reports and a vast number of reports of commissioned research. The Royal Commission on Human Relationships, the Commission on Australian Government Administration and the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Chiropractice, Osteopathy, Homopathy and Naturopathy all reported in the 1970s. All were informed by systematic sociological investigations, all made policy recommendations which have been influential. More recently government policies on affirmative action have drawn on the results of inquiry into sex role socialisation and differences in the participation rate of men and women in education and the labour force.

In the youth area the policies of the present Government rely heavily on analysis of changing social participation in schools and post-secondary institutions including evaluation of failure of initiatives made by the former Labor Government. The shift of the Participation and Equity Program from the Fraser Government's Transition Program is partly ideological; but it was informed by a very large amount of research analysis and criticism undertaken in the last half dozen years.

A specific example is provided by the discussion papers on the proposal for a scheme of youth allowances which have been prepared by Meredith Edwards and her colleagues in the Department of Education and Youth Affairs. The various options which are presented are dependent on results from numerous research studies.[13]

Implicit in the views of many respondents, particularly the policy advisers, was the idea that research results should be immediately and directly applicable to policy problems. This is the linear view of the process and its embodies some popular delusions about the nature of social science knowledge as well as of the policy-making process. A colleague has referred to these beliefs as 'simple positivism' and 'factual efficacy'.

Simple positivism in social science refers to a number of related beliefs all of dubious validity. There is an assumption that the purpose of research is to uncover laws governing relationships in a deterministic universe, an undue faith in the results of a single experiment or enquiry, neglect of context affecting results (viz. the extent to which conclusions about behaviour are based on studies of university students) and the eagerness to read 'association' as 'cause'.

Factual efficacy refers to the assumption that knowledge generated by social research can and should make a direct and immediate contribution to policy. It is represented in the linear model of impact presented earlier and in the slogan 'the facts speak for themselves'. It is detectable in the views of those social scientists who rationalise their interests by asserting that research will inevitably lead to social betterment. This rationalisation is illustrated in the claim, made by a recent Director of the national Institute of Education in Washington that 'as an intrinsic part of all our research and development programs, we will find ways to eliminate the effect of a student's race, sex, culture or income on the equality of education received and on the achievement level attained'. Such statements imply a direct line from research to policy: that researchers will fix the problem. Research will do no such thing. Research studies may reveal social imbalance about which policy-makers wish to make political, value-related decisions. When a policy is declared and a program is enacted research studies may contribute to evaluating its effectiveness.

As we have seen, when asked in a survey, researchers and policy advisers do not seem to be able to find evidence for the impact of any particular study or policy, a finding also reported by Caplan and his colleagues who studied policy advisers in the US federal administration.[14] This, of course, does not mean that impact is impossible; there may be examples of single, potent studies. It is just that they are hard to find.

And where there are examples of single impact studies we should be suspicious. There is plenty of evidence that social researchers themselves tend to intepret the findings of studies in a way that conforms to theories to which they are committed. Indeed it has been argued that we all tend to assimilate knowledge in such a way as to extend, rather than overturn, our pre-existing cognitive schemata. Several of the policy respondents referred to the contradictory advice they receive from economists, implying that such advice is value-laden.

Finally, as I have pointed out earlier, the linear or factual efficacy model assumes that decision-making is a rational process, an

assumption which the political scientists have been telling us for years is very improbable.

There are not many studies of decision-making in Australian political settings. The few that exist point to the almost accidental involvement of any particular individual in a decision. One of the strongest findings to come from a study of research impact made by Carol Weiss and her colleagues in the U.S. was an inabili y to find any respondent who would admit to having made a policy decision![15] (some may not think this a startling finding). Nevertheless social science has proved influential in the process of policy formulation. It is however only part of the process which also involves values, interests and accidents.

The examples given, of research which has illuminated policy, and the examples produced by the survey respondents, indicate that it is rare for a single study to be influential on its own; rather it is the synthesis of a number of studies made by an author who is familiar with the political context. The reason why researchers named fewer studies than the policy advisers is that we put the wrong questions in the survey. We asked respondents to list the names of **particular** studies that had been of significance for policy - there are none, at least not on their own. The policy advisers were more familiar with the policy-oriented reports which reviewed and synthesised numerous studies; thus they scored over the researchers.

Conclusions for policy advisers:

- never trust one study
- never trust one method
- place more trust in the study which comes clean about its theoretical assumptions
- some research evidence is better than no research evidence.

FOOTNOTES

1. Times Educational Supplement, 16 September 1983, p.4.
2. Quoted in Martin BULMER, The Uses of Social Research, Allen and Unwin, 1982, p.33.
3. American Sociological Review, Vol.45, No.6, 1980, p.889.
4. Education Research is Investment in the Future of Australia. Report published by AARE, 1982, p.3.
5. Policy and Research: an Educational Policy-Maker's Perspective. Chapter 5 in ANDERSON, D.S. and C. BLAKERS (eds.), Youth, Transition and Social Research, ANU Press, 1983, p.49.
6. AARE Annual Conference, Canberra, 1983.

7. The term has been used by Carol WEISS. See Using Social Research in Public Policy Making, Lexington Books, 1977, p.12.

8. JANIS, I.L. and L. MANN. Decision Making: A Psychological Analysis of Conflict, Choice and Commitment. New York: The Free Press, 1977.

9. Secondary Schools for Canberra AGPS, 1973. See also Chapter by CAMPBELL, R. in ANDERSON, D.S. and D.J. BESWICK, 'Adolescents and School Reform', Evaluation in Education: An International Review Series, Pergamon Press, 1979.

10. WEISS, J.A. and C.H. WEISS. 'Social Scientists and Decision Makers Look at the Usefulness of Mental Health Research', American Psychologist, Vol.36, No.8, August 1981, p.837-47.

11. ANDERSON, D.S. and C. BLAKERS. Youth in Transition: An annotated bibliography of research studies. Canberra: AGPS (in press).

12. HUSEN, Torsten. 'A Case Study in Policy-oriented Research: The Swedish School Reforms', The School Review, Autumn, 1965, p.206-225.

13. EDWARDS, Meredith. Income Support for Young People. A discussion paper prepared by the Office of Youth Affairs and the Social Welfare Policy Secretariat. Canberra: AGPS, 1984.

14. CAPLAN, N., A. MORRISON and R.J. STDAMBOUGH. The Use of Social Science Knowledge in Policy Decisions at the National Level. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research. This is a report of an interview survey made in 1973/74 of approximately 200 senior policy advisers in a representative range of US governmental agencies. Some of the same questions were used in the current Australian survey and 'comparable' percentages have been noted at the base of the appropriate tables. Since the methodology and the samples of the two studies were very different no great significance should be attached to the comparisons.

15. WEISS, C.H. and M.J. BUCUVALAS. Social Science Research and Decision-Making. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.

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